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U N E S C O

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE BULLETIN

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LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS TO THE PRESENT ISSUE

Dr ANDRÉ BERTRAND Director of Research at the National School of Administration
 Paris
 Dr JEAN B DUROSSELLE Professor at the University of the Saar
 Dr ROGER GIROD Centre for Sociological Research on Human Relations Geneva
 Dr JEAN GOTTMANN Professor at Princeton University New Jersey
 Dr JOHN N HAZARD Professor at Columbia University New York
 Dr MELVILLE J HERSKOVITS Professor at North Western University Evanston Illinois
 Dr HANS J MORGENTHAU Professor at the University of Chicago
 Dr THOMAS S SIMEY Professor at Liverpool University
 Dr RICHARD M TITMUS Professor at the University of London

OBITUARIES

LOUIS WIRTH

It is with deep and sincere regret that we must record the death of the first President of the International Sociological Association Professor Louis WIRTH of the University of Chicago

The sudden and untimely death of Professor WIRTH on 4 May 1952 came as a great shock to all his friends and colleagues and to all those he had guided and encouraged in the advancement of international communication and co-operation between sociologists and workers

Louis WIRTH had the strengthening of the ties between the world and had his

multiple demonstration of the possibilities for fruitful social science co-operation across national boundaries Having received his early training in Germany he emigrated to the United States at the age of 19 became a social worker in Chicago studied sociology under Park Burgess Thomas and Small obtained his Ph D on his outstanding study of *The Ghetto* and went back to Germany for a couple of years under an SSRC fellowship The studies he undertook during that period led him to a greater realization of the need for increased cross fertilization on between the differing national schools of sociology and led to his persistent efforts to acquaint American and British sociologists with the approaches of the Mannheim school and the problems of the sociology of intellectual life In the late thirties his interests came to be more orientated towards the sociology of the city and problems relating to planning and the utilization of national resources During and after World War II a third interest came to the forefront Louis WIRTH became a leading expert in the field of minority problems and race relations was a very active President of the American Council on Race Relations and played a big part in the efforts of international organizations concerned with the advancement of studies and programmes of action in this field These interests led him to increased realization of the need for systematic promotion of co-operation between the sociologists active in the different countries of the world He became President of the American Sociological Society for the year 1947 and made great efforts to encourage the movement toward a general international co-operation in sociology He was a member of the Preparatory Committee set up by Unesco in October 1948 to plan the creation of an international organization of sociologists and served as Chairman of the Constituent Congress of the International Sociological Association held in Oslo in September 1949

The Provisional Council set up at the Constituent Congress unanimously elected Professor WIRTH Provisional President for the first year of operation of the association This was a difficult period in its development and placed a heavy burden of responsibility on Louis WIRTH He devoted a great deal of his time and energy to the problems that had to be tackled and helped and

encouraged the Secretariat set up in Oslo in numerous ways. He took a big share in the planning and preparation of the World Congress of Sociologists held in Zurich in September 1950, delivered a number of outstanding addresses and presided over its meetings in a masterful way that will be remembered by all those who were present. The formally established council of the association unanimously elected him its first regular president for the three year period 1950-53 and thus expressed its confidence in his leadership and in his devotion to the cause of international social science co-operation.

Professor WIRTH was eager to continue his work for the further development of the programme of the association and would have taken a major share in the planning and organization of the World Congress of Sociology to be held in Liège from 24 August to 1 September 1953. He looked forward very much to this gathering of sociologists from all parts of the world and was firmly convinced of its importance to the advancement of sociology as a science and as a basis for social action.

Louis WIRTH also contributed to the strengthening of co-operative ties between the various social science disciplines. He took the initiative in proposing the creation of an international social science council and presided over the council in Zurich and December 1950. He was engaged till the end of his life in the different international social science associations and between Unesco and the different international sociology and international social science headquarters. He was an indefatigable spokesman and leader in the movement for the death of loss and sense of loss and an ardent and untimely a profound and to his vision of inter

THEODOR GEIGER

International social science co-operation has suffered a serious loss in the death of Professor Theodor GEIGER, Director of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Aarhus and Chairman of the Research Committee of the International Sociological Association.

Theodor GEIGER was born in Munich in 1891 and received his early training in law and statistics. The profound post-war convulsions of German society motivated his early interest in mass behaviour and the sociology of political movements and led him to undertake the extensive investigations that are recorded in *Die Masse und ihre Aktion* (1916) and *Führer und Folge* (1916). He was appointed a professor of sociology at the Technological University of Brunswick in 1928 and published a general treatise on sociology and a very important report on his pioneering studies in social stratification, *Die soziale Schichtung des deutschen Volkes* (1932). The accession of the National Socialist party to power in Germany in 1933 drove him into exile in Denmark. He was engaged in a number of research projects at the Institute for History and Social Science in Copenhagen for some years and in 1938 was appointed to

the first chair ever set up in sociology at the University of Aarhus in Jutland. He published a major treatise on sociological theory in 1939, the only large-scale textbook in existence in any Scandinavian language. The occupation of Denmark by the German forces in 1940 caused a temporary interruption in his academic career, but he was able to continue his extensive research activity during the war years and produced a number of important works in varied fields as economic sociology.

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Prof. Theodor GEIGER took a major part in the foundation and development of the International Sociological Association and in post war efforts to bring about closer co-operation between the social scientists of the world. He was elected Chairman of the Research Committee of the International Sociological Association and as such played an important role in the development of the ISA programme of cross national comparative research on social stratification and social mobility. He was intensely concerned with the need to develop comparative studies in a number of countries in this important field and during his year as a visiting professor of sociology at the University of Toronto from 1951 to 1952 he did his best to promote interest in such studies in Canada and the United States.

He died on board the ship that should have brought him home. He did not live to see the realization of his dream of a world of peace and understanding in the field of social science.

He died on board the ship that should have brought him back to Europe. He did not live to see the realization of his plans for cross national research in the field of social stratification and social mobility but he had initiated a way of thinking and helped to start a movement that was certain to advance social science knowledge and international co-operation.

Theodor GEIGER was one of the most active sociologists in Europe and had friends in many countries. He will be missed as an indefatigable worker and inspiring colleague and a good friend.

encouraged the Secretariat set up in Oslo in numerous ways. He took a big share in the planning and preparation of the World Congress of Sociologists held in Zurich in September 1950, delivered a paper and presided over its main session. He was elected president of the association of all those who were present at the Congress, and was unanimously elected President of the association for the three year period 1950-53 and thus exercised confidence in his leadership and in his devotion to the cause of international social science co-operation.

Professor WIRTH was eager to continue his work for the further development of the programme of the association, and was engaged in the planning and organization of the 12th Congress of the Association of Sociologists, which took place in Liege from 24 August to 1 September 1954. This gathering of sociologists from all over the world and was firmly convinced of its importance to the advancement of sociology as a science and as a basis for social action.

Louis WIRTH also contributed to the strengthening of co-operation between the various social science disciplines, and was engaged in posing the problem of the relationship between the social sciences and the natural sciences.

Louis WIRTH was engaged till the very end in his work for the Association of Sociologists, and in his work on this between Unesco and the different international social science associations.

American sociology and international social science have lost an ardent and indefatigable spokesman and leader in Louis WIRTH. His death has left all of us with a sense of loss and a feeling of the need to continue his service to the service of all mankind.

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He published a number of important studies in the field of social stratification and social mobility. Of particular importance were his studies on the social origins of the Danish intelligentsia from the Reformation to the twentieth century, his investigation of the social origins of Danish students and his detailed analyses of the social origins of the population of the city of Aarhus published in *Sociale Udviklinger i en stor dansk by i det 19. og 20. århundrede* (1951). He also made pioneering efforts in the field of audience research and planned and carried out the first large scale investigation in Denmark of the habits and preferences of radio listeners.

Professor Theodor GEIGER took a major part in the foundation and development of the International Sociological Association and in post-war efforts to bring about closer co-operation between the social scientists of the world. He was elected Chairman of the Research Committee of the International Sociological Association and as such played an important role in the development of the ISA programme of cross-national comparative research on social stratification and social mobility. He was intensely concerned with the need to develop comparative studies in a number of countries in this important field and during his year as a visiting professor of sociology at the University of Toronto from 1951 to 1952 he did his best to promote interest in such studies in Canada and the United States.

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Theodor GEIGER was one of the most active sociologists in Europe and had friends in many countries. He will be missed as an indefatigable worker, an inspiring colleague and a good friend.

P A R T I
AREA STUDIES

INTRODUCTION

A recent survey carried out by the American Political Science Association among the political science departments of 75 American universities showed that 308 of the 197 current research projects dealt with international relations and that of those 308 198 were area studies. This is an interesting point and deserves some further consideration. The exact meaning of the term "area study" as used by American researchers is still a little uncertain. It may be applied to any study of a particular area at least if it is concerned with some branch of the social sciences or it may have a much more specific meaning: an area study being a comprehensive study of a given region from several different points of view with the object of determining its role in international life. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of these definitions. The reader will find food for thought on this point in the following pages of this issue of *International Social Science Bulletin*. This uncertainty of meaning seems however to be a reasonable starting point for an explanation of the deep underlying number of the periodical "American and to a lesser extent British and French scientists are attaching increasing importance to area studies in the social sciences. The time therefore seems ripe for seeing where we stand. The fact that the basic idea of an area study is still not entirely clear in the minds of many specialists is surely an adequate reason for trying to clarify what we mean by it at least for the time being. Those who first thought of tackling the problem in this way, despite the difficulties involved were in no way complacent about the results. The most they could hope to do was to make some suggestions to lay down tentatively certain principles and to bring up some questions of method in the hope of stimulating fruitful discussion rather than of stating new dogma. Let them not be criticized for temerity so the attitude towards the problem preserves that humility which must govern any new line of scientific thought particularly when we are concerned with the sciences which have to do with man.

The writers of these articles have sought to be scientific—in other words they have not troubled about the philosophical and ethical bases of what they are trying to do. It could be as well however to say something about these aspects here. Like any other scientific method the area study may be a weapon of peace or of war. An exact knowledge of the part that a foreign country plays in international political and social life may help strategists in a future war quite as much as it does the advocates of collective security. Just as tremendous advances in aircraft design and construction were naturally made under the pressure of war-time needs—advances which now that peace has returned help in building people closer to one another—so area studies may be used in the same way. There is no doubt that the rapid development of this type of research in the United States of America dates from the second world war and has been

accelerated by the cold war. The Department of State naturally interested in training agents abroad and in learning more of the countries with which it is dealing day by day has given much encouragement to work undertaken spontaneously by many American universities in this field and has in fact instigated such investigations itself. Accurate information is an essential factor in strategy and area studies can supply invaluable material. But it would be dangerous to shut our eyes to all but this aspect of the problem and Unesco is well placed to draw attention to the other side of the picture. Surely wars are due at least in part to the fact that the peoples do not understand one another? The main object of an area study is to try to understand another people or group of peoples. The attitude which seeks to use the power a nation can wield to impose its will with a blind disregard for the legitimate claims of

its enemies or adversaries has been described by Professor Morgenthau in his

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Weltpolitik. Neo isolationism is a danger besetting area studies are certainly one of the best remedies for it as are visits by people of one country to others. Any area study conducted in a spirit of impartiality and tolerance shows us Man however obvious this point may seem it is as well to mention it for the pace of the modern world sometimes leads to complete disparity between the national ideal and the humanistic ideal.

Another feature of area studies is also worthy of note. They provide opportunity for fruitful collaboration between specialists in different branches of study. Close co operation in a common undertaking between historians, geographers, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists and linguists is something which deserves attention and opens up prospects of considerable interest. It is a new attack on the hard and fast conceptions of university teaching and research, a breach in the wall which the established well defined recognized branches of study continually put up against new branches. It is important to note in this connexion that Unesco has always tried to bring about such collaboration between scholars in different fields of specialization. The whole idea of the area study implies not merely association but union of the efforts of those taking part generally under the guidance of a specialist in international relations for the prosecution of concerted scientific objects.

This issue does not pretend to give an exhaustive account of area studies. The 4 articles taken as a whole however present a general picture which is in line with methods Professor

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dealing with the theory of the question. He suggests a way of marking out the geographical areas to be studied and for selecting the lines of research to be employed in each case. Professor Hans Morgenthau of the University of Chicago seeks to establish the relationship between area studies and the study of international relations. He shows that the latter has gradually drawn away from history and international law while area studies by bringing about integration between various branches of learning and thus broadening the outlook of research workers lead to important developments in the intellectual sphere the chief of these being an understanding of 'cultural relativity' and a juster appreciation of those cultures which are foreign to us. Professor

Jean Gottmann of the Princeton Institute for Advanced Studies and the Institute of Political Studies in Paris describes the contribution which human geography and economics can make to area studies. He treats the question historically and shows how human geography originated with Vauban and has been strikingly developed in the twentieth century by Vidal de la Blache and Demangeon. The geographers' main contribution to an area study is to explain the distribution of human settlements over the world. Professor Gottmann points out that it is best to avoid confining the study to too small a region. Professor John A. Hazard of Colombia University, New York, a specialist on Slavonic questions, takes Soviet law as an example to show that detailed study of legal problems can teach us much about the national and international aspects of a country's life. In particular, the idea of the relations between the State and the individual, which differs so much from country to country and which is so instructive, is clearly revealed by a detailed examination of a country's laws. Professor Simey of Liverpool University deals with the contribution of sociology and psychology to area studies. He suggests that the geographical areas chosen for study should be socio-cultural units. In his view, it is extremely difficult to draw a dividing line between sociology and psychology in such work. It is in fact no use to analyze the structure of societies as they are without reference to the development of the individual characteristics of men and women. He goes on to extend this idea of the need for a sociation to other sciences such as anthropology, political economy and political science. This is a big step forward, bringing us as it does from multi-disciplinary techniques to interdisciplinary techniques. The obvious conclusion is that the improvement of area studies is bound up with the as yet inadequate development of some of the social sciences. Professor Melville J. Herskovits of North Western University writes on cultural anthropology. This provides a frame of reference for the analysis of the ways of life of any people in terms of their own institutions, accepted modes of behaviour and underlying actions. If cultural anthropology is left out of account, descriptions of culture are bound to remain somewhat 'in the air'. He analyses the concept of culture, showing that unlike physical characteristics, culture is acquired by the individuals in the group and brings out the extent to which culture determines the conduct of those individuals. In his view, the principal purpose of area studies is to give a complete picture of the culture of a specified region. Cultural anthropology thus has a vital part to play or at all events a greater part than it has so far been allotted.

A bibliography with abstracts of the most important area studies so far published follows these articles. It has been drawn up in collaboration with the information services of the Fondation nationale des sciences politiques. Paris.

This issue of *International Social Science Bulletin* is intended to provide material for discussion, comparison and further suggestions. It is hoped that this tentative survey of the position may be followed a little later by another dealing more comprehensively and in greater detail with the situation.

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the term is excellent for it means to say that there are several forms of isolationism and that it is possible to remain isolationist even while practising what the Germans call *Weilpolitik*. Neo isolationism is a danger besetting every people and area studies are certainly one of the best remedies for it, as are visits by people of one country to others. Any area study conducted in a spirit of impartiality and tolerance shows us that, however obvious this point may seem, it is as well to mention it: for the pace of the modern world sometimes leads to complete disparity between the national ideal and the humanistic ideal.

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This issue does not pretend to give an exhaustive account of area studies. The six articles taken as a whole, however, present a general picture which should produce useful reactions. In an article dealing with methods, Professor J. H. Duroselle, Dean of the Faculty of Arts at the University of the Saar and a lecturer at the Institute of Political Studies in Paris, gives a definition of area studies in the light of previous publications and of the few existing works dealing with the theory of the question. He

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naive Men have always been interested in understanding the international role of certain regions To go no further back than the nineteenth century Custine's *Jour en Russie* Father Hue's *Jour en Tartarie* and de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* stand out among a host of similar works in that they go beyond the purely descriptive stage and at least aspire to a certain scientific value even if they do not always attain it The originality of the American area studies lies rather in their systematic character in the number of disciplines on which they draw and the insight conveyed by saying that the student may assume one of three main

approach is uppermost the field of research is restricted to one or a few well defined sciences and no attempt is made to seek for a complete explanation of the international life of the region The third category is the form in which is at once scientific and systematic—that of area studies Needless to say there are non American works even of this last form Mention may be made among many other examples of the work *Justicia and the Pacific* published by the Australian Institute of International Affairs and of the excellent *Liban et la Tunisie* by A Basset and his collaborators Some of the publications of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in Great Britain are real area studies The originality of the American scientific study lies in the fact that they have devoted themselves to this form of study in a wider and more systematic manner and gone further in discarding the single author method in favour of large scale teamwork The very scope of such work is attempts at co-ordination and the results already obtained could seem to confirm it a profound significance in the evolution of modern scientific research Gone is the stage of groping hesitation, and perhaps the time has come to reflect on the method which has emerged from the first experiments carried out That is the object of this article It makes no pretence of being anything but provisional a mere starting point susceptible of stimulation and discussion as much by the errors as by the truths which it may contain Such a discussion could be invaluable for the improvement of the very principles of research For this purpose it is proposed to study three aspects of the methodological problem First is the place of area studies in the study of international relations Second is the notion of an area just when can a region be submitted to systematic study? Thirdly what are the elements of a systematic study and how is it possible to determine the disciplines whose employment is indispensable to the study of the geographical area chosen

I

One will be surprised that we class area studies in the very well-defined field of the study of international relations A simple consideration of the nature of these studies reveals the direct relation given them consciously or not by

AREA STUDIES PROBLEMS OF METHOD

JEAN B DUROSELLE

The expression area study is becoming the fashion in the United States. For some years now doubtless as a corollary to the rapid development of an American foreign policy on a world scale a large number of scholars generally working in teams have been instituting a form of enquiry whose aim is to spread a scientific knowledge of the problems raised by certain territories States or groups of States in the world. Perhaps this is an instinctive reaction against the almost complete ignorance about everything that did not concern their continent from which American diplomatic circles suffered in the isolationist period. Or perhaps in a country where geographical studies attract little attention—there are several large American universities without a single chair of geography—although the teaching of international relations is very advanced the development of area studies constitutes a spontaneous means of associating spatial considerations with the examination of general political data. However that may be we are faced with an abundance of works dealing with every part of the world. A concern for detailed information has led the Social Science Research Council to publish various guides which indicate the nature and the level of area studies in the main United States universities.

The best handy definition of an area study till we have had time to work out something more accurate is *the scientific study of a region presenting a certain politico social unity with a view to understanding and explaining its place and its role in international society*. This result can only be obtained by the systematic use of all branches of study that may provide valid explanations.

Let us take as an example the Middle East. Without claiming the list that follows as complete it would seem unlikely that anyone would be able to understand the Middle East's part in international society without calling on physical geography, climatology, political history, commerce, sociology—chiefly as concerns the

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aspects of contemporary international life is quite indispensable to an understanding of the Greater Antilles and Central

forward in the history of the human mind which occur only once or twice in a century? Such a claim would be somewhat

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political relationships between States. Diplomacy assuredly has its share in this concept which is richer in meaning today than in the past. But relations between nations nowadays are maintained on many other levels. There are economic financial and monetary relations demographic relations by emigration or immigration cultural relations in all their forms ranging from reciprocal influence in art and literature to psychological warfare with intermediate forms. Here cultural exchanges are tied up with commercial dealings as in the export of films or the sale of patents or indeed in tourist travel. All these forms of international relations are obviously to a great extent interdependent though each has its own aspects and a certain autonomy.

In the objective study of these relations in the wider sense there are several stages to be distinguished. The first is the accumulation of materials which will be very varied sought from the most diverse sciences and disciplines and as carefully selected as possible. There is room for a study of the methodology of this selection and for a criticism *a priori* and *a posteriori* of the value of these materials but this is not the place for such a task. Under the heading of what is here called accumulation of materials would come such enquiries as a study of the influence of banks and business circles on the foreign policy of a country at various moments in its history a study of the influence of American films on the psychology of different peoples according to the circulation of the former and the level of culture of the latter or again a study of the development and conquests of a language or a religion at the expense of other languages or other religions and so on. Needless to say every science plays its part in this accumulation of material though only what is useful to the understanding of international relations is taken into account. This will avoid any confusion between this first phase of the work and the compilation of a universal encyclopaedia.

The second stage is the study of all the phenomena concerning a given territory or group of territories so as to distinguish the fundamental data and the accidental data explaining the international life of this geographical area. This is the purpose of area studies. To define the place (static point of view) and the role (dynamic point of view) of an area in international relations is in fact to establish which are the fundamental and enduring and which the contingent and accidental data that explain the relations of this area with the rest of the world.

The third stage consists in working out a theory of international relations as a whole that is to say in finding the fundamental data which explain these relations in general independently of geographical areas. This phase will normally take the form of a study of world wide phenomena such as nationalism colonialism and imperialism. It will also include an examination of the general influences which affect international relations and of their relative value— influences of political of the geographical background of

Cloutier, Dec. 1954. *Review of Political Science* ed. by Ernest S. G. Smith, Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press. 8 pp. (with chapters on international relations) William F. Ladd, G. O. Burn Technology. An international relation. University of Chicago Press. 1954. 196 pp. d. Sch. arsenberger book more word.

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and Hannah Aren. *International Society* P. E. Corbe. I go for to keep the persons dy. h. r. z. an. se. 1954. 196 pp. 5-63. 10. 1. d. agree with H. G. V. (Long R. *International Relations* 1. world. Pol. J. I. or find re. IV. nd. 1. pp.) this ca. make y. cc. ra. four. 1. 1.

their authors Take as an example a collection which has already created some stir *Modern France*¹ a symposium edited at Princeton by Professor Edward Mead Earle with contributions from 28 American scholars and one Frenchman Mr Andre Siegfried Taken together the studies which might be disparate if they had been juxtaposed converge towards a well defined aim to help the educated public particularly American scholars and statesmen to understand the real situation of France Yet setting aside a purely abstract curiosity what can be the interest of a precise knowledge of the French situation if it be not to evaluate the interest of a precise knowledge of the world? The mere fact that the French situation is of interest to the world is not enough to justify a study of it.

It can indeed be said that a study of an area under consideration is essentially an element in the human universe would be pure verbiage without any scientific value The human community in the pure state isolated from other communities does not exist save on the insignificant scale of the desert island for the brief period that the shipwrecked party lives there Even countries protected by formidable natural barriers such as Tibet or Sinkiang Greenland or the Antarctic lead to no such isolation as relationships like all the rest of the world.

For such a book to be truly objective it must be addressed to all readers everywhere who whatever their nationality wish to form an exact and scientific opinion on France There are of course lesser degrees of objectivity more precise and more limited aims for example that of explaining the role of France to the Americans only This is perhaps the spirit behind the publication of another book on France in some ways parallel with Earle's Professor Donald McKay's *The United States and France* The title is ambiguous and might suggest that it was a study limited to relations between the United States and France It is nothing of the sort or at least the study of these relations is confined to one chapter Mr McKay's real aim is to explain the role of France to the educated American public by the study of all the factors within his grasp His book is part of a collection which he is editing together with Mr Sumner Welles and which has been given the self explanatory title of *American Foreign Policy Library* The other books in the series are entitled *The United States and China* *The United States and Scandinavia* *The United States and the Near East* and so on and the significance of the titles is the same in every instance—what the United States should know of the role and place in international life of the countries or groups of countries studied It is finally possible to imagine—and it would not be such a very extravagant flight of fancy—area studies being commissioned by the Defence Ministry or the Foreign Affairs Ministry of this or that country with a militarist or imperialist aim

It is thus clear that an area study is essentially a contribution to the study of international relations The expression international relations should not of course be taken in its narrow sense which would limit its content to the

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economic financial and monetary relations in all their forms ranging from
emigration or immigration cultural relations to psychological warfare with
reciprocal influence in art and literature to patents or indeed in tourist
intermediate forms here cultural exchanges are tied up with commercial
dealings as in the export of films or the sale of patents or indeed in tourist
travel All these forms of international relations are obviously to a great
extent interdependent though each has its own aspects and a certain autonomy

In the objective study of these relations in the wider sense there are
several stages to be distinguished The first is the accumulation of materials
which will be very varied sought from the most diverse sciences and disci-
plines and as carefully selected as possible There is room for a study of the
methodology of this selection and for a criticism *a priori* and *a posteriori* of the
value of these materials but this is not the place for such a task Under the
heading of what is here called accumulation of materials could come such
enquiries as a study of the influence of banks and business circles on the
foreign policy of a country at various moments in its history a study of the
influence of American films on the psychology of different peoples according
to the circulation of the former and the level of culture of the latter or again
a study of the development and conquests of a language or a religion at the
expense of other languages or other religions and so on Needless to say
every science plays its part in this accumulation of material though only what
is useful to the understanding of international relations is taken into account
This will avoid any confusion between this first phase of the work and the
compilation of a universal encyclopedia

The second stage is the study of all the phenomena concerning a given
territory or group of territories so as to distinguish the fundamental data
and the accidental data explaining the international life of this geographical
area This is the purpose of area studies To define the place (static point
of view) and the role (dynamic point of view) of an area in international
relations in fact to establish which are the fundamental and enduring and
which the contingent and accidental data that explain the relations of this
area with the rest of the world

The third stage consists in working out a theory of international relations
as a whole that is to say in finding the fundamental data which explain
these relations in general independently of geographical areas This phase
will normally take the form of a study of world wide phenomena such as
nationalism colonialism and imperialism It will also include an examination
of the general influences which affect international relations and of their
respective value—influences of political of the geographical background of

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standards of living and of the personalities of responsible statesmen etc. It need hardly be added that such a general theory is hard to elaborate in the present state of knowledge except in the form of hypotheses.

In any case we can define the exact place of the area study in this general perspective. It uses the material supplied by scientists in widely differing branches of study systematically selecting and co-ordinating the data in relation to a given geographical area. We regard this as the second stage—a necessary but yet incomplete stage—in the study of international relations. For the specialist in a particular science who has supplied the data (first stage) an area study goes beyond his subject in necessitating recourse to other disciplines yet it pins him down to a very definite geographical area. For the theorist of international relations (third stage) it is a vital but only an isolated element of a general theory which if it is to be fully worked out requires the findings of many area studies.¹

II

As we have seen the ultimate aim of the area study is to determine the role and place of a given geographical area in international relations by shedding light on fundamental and accidental data. The first problem of method then is obviously the choice of the geographical area to be studied.

In the case of a study of regional geography where the character of a region is explained in terms of its physical and human make up there are many different ways of achieving unity of approach. The French geography school following the example of Vidal de la Blache, De Martonne and Demangeon has produced such a wealth of these regional studies as to establish clearly the soundest principles for the selection of regions for study. Demangeon's *Picardy* the first famous example of its kind is the study of a historical region rather than of a region whose unity is constituted by natural features. On the other hand physical geography is the central theme of the works on Oisans by Allix on Vercors by Vidal de la Blache and on Limousin by Perpillon. Hydrographical and human factors together form the unity of Dion's study of the valley of the Loire. On a larger scale Augustin Bernard concentrates on the present political setting in his works on Algeria and Morocco.

The approach is very different when the aim is not to explain the character of a region but the relations of a territory with neighbouring territories and with the world at large. Demangeon's and De Martonne's works on France which supplement one another form a vast and comprehensive study of regional geography and can more or less afford to ignore the rest of the world. But Earle and McKay in the works mentioned above study France only for the purpose of clarifying its relations with the rest of the world. The aim of an area study then is to study a network of relations and the extent to which an inside knowledge of the territory under consideration explains these relations. For their full explanation we should need to be able to demonstrate how other territories in turn influence the territory under consideration. This would presuppose as many area studies as there are territories. Such an

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exhaustive investigation is conceivable in the near future but not in the present state of research

Since we have to do with international law we may lay down as a first principle of consideration must be on the scale of the State territory¹ on the scale of the unit of political administration. Where a State is concerned there is no difficulty in applying this rule. For France for instance none of its provinces plays an independent part in international relations. Neither Brittany, Auvergne nor even Alsace has any foreign political, cultural activity or economic life that can be isolated from the highly centralized unit constituted by France. France may be partly explained by the existence and individuality of Brittany, Auvergne and Alsace and many other provinces as well but in international relations France alone is a separate entity. This is equally true of States with a federal structure such as Switzerland or the United States of America. It is more difficult, and in some cases impossible to grasp the individuality of a non-metropolitan territory. At present, it is difficult to conceive of French Somaliland as a separate entity or individuality since it is a small sparsely populated territory of purely strategic and economic importance. But in many other cases this individuality is quite obvious. Tunisia and Morocco even though under the protectorate system they are closely dependent on Metropolitan France so far as purely foreign policy is concerned (in both cases the Resident General under the Protectorate Treaty acts as the Minister for Foreign Affairs) none the less have their own individuality in economic, cultural and even political life. Much the same applies to Algeria although it has become a far more integral part of metropolitan France.

We may therefore take it that the first case suitable for an area study is that of a dependent or independent territory with a sufficiently pronounced individuality to enable it to play its own part in international relations taken in the broader sense. This concept of individuality is naturally not very clear cut and there are borderline cases. If we regard Russian Turkestan as a territory attached to a metropolis can we say that for all its vast size its wealth and population it plays its own part in external relations independently of Soviet policy? That would be hard to concede considering Turkestan's close dependence, facilitated by an authoritarian régime by the dictatorship of one party and by the fact that it borders on the Soviet Union. The Ukraine and White Russia which in theory are self-governing so far as foreign policy concerned and have their own Ministries of Foreign Affairs have never shown the slightest inclination to adopt a different political line from the Union. However the latter are groups of Ukrainian and White Russian emigrants whose activity lends weight to the theory that their home countries have at least a potential individuality of their own.

To determine whether a dependent territory has an individuality of its own we may therefore take a simple rule of thumb which I shall put in this way: a dependent territory has an individuality as soon as some of its inhabitants play an international relations taken in the broader sense (political, economic, demographic, cultural, etc.) a part that is clearly independent of the authority over them and perceptible in general international relations. By adopting this criterion we come to the conclusion that Jibuti is too small a settlement for an area study that the Ukraine and Turkestan have a barely perceptible individuality so that in these two special cases it would be

¹ I drop this terminology used by Jean Gauthier in *La politique des états* at least in the sense of self-governing entities. I do not mean to show his area does not be carried on.

preferable to make an area study for the U S S R as a whole¹ but that Tunisia is suitable for such a study

We have hitherto considered only the minimum area for a study but there is nothing to prevent—in fact everything to recommend—studies of geographical areas embracing several States or territories Take for instance, French North Africa if we make three area studies one for Morocco another for Algeria and a third for Tunisia we should admittedly obtain interesting results but in all probability most of the important data brought to light by the three studies would overlap The three countries in fact belong to the same geographical and climatic unit—Maghreb Their population consists of Moslem Arabs and Berbers plus a number of Jews and 10 per cent of Europeans mostly French France is the dominant cultural and economic and of course political influence as well They have much the same agricultural and mineral resources today being supplemented by rapid industrialization Each of the territories has its nationalist movement to some extent bound up with the Arab League All these factors confer upon the region a fundamental unity—though each has its own special character—which makes it easier to discern the salient features But as the study of international relations now stands only salient features are readily perceptible

In some cases it is a more difficult matter to group territories Scientists are not agreed upon the meaning of the Middle East South-east Asia plainly has some degree of unity comprising as it does the countries subjected to the influence of the monsoon to which they owe their special agricultural characteristics Apart from Thailand the traditional buffer State between the French and British possessions the entire region has been colonized by the British French Dutch and Americans Save for India and Pakistan the whole of South-east Asia was overrun by the Japanese Four of its countries had puppet Japanese Governments Burma and the Philippines in 1943 and Indo China and Indonesia in 1945 India itself holds in honour the memory of Subas Chandra Bose's National Indian Army Today with the exception of British Malaya and Singapore all these countries have won their independence Yet would it be wise to make an area study comprising the Indian peninsula the Indo Chinese peninsula and the great archipelagoes? It seems preferable to deal separately with the Indian peninsula

white or black Dravidian inhabitants

by "peoples who have experienced Chinese infiltration and underwent Japanese occupation

Similarly for Latin America a distinction should doubtless be drawn between the Caribbean zone Portuguese America the Northern States and Argentina and Chile but this is a controversial grouping with nothing final about it Any such subdivision must needs be empirical But we can at least attempt to formulate a practical criterion—even though it has no absolute value which may help the specialist in international relations who is still feeling his way It is expedient to group a number of territories for an area

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study (a) when this group presents some unity of character—linguistic, historical, or geographical—like the study of the history of the Mediterranean basin.

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population and the quality—on account of its long and differentiating features, though those it has in common with the rest of Europe as a whole could be very profitable for research. In this part of the world which has had such a chequered history and has for so long been in the forefront of technical progress it would surely be preferable at least for the time being to keep to the level of the State at any rate for the most important—the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Italy. Scientifically this would seem to be the soundest method as it would dispense with unduly complex analyses. The desire of many Western Europeans to federate their countries has nothing to do with this technical consideration. It should be remembered that area studies are a scientific investigation and must not be governed by such normative considerations as aspirations for European union.

At the present stage it is not at all certain that the fundamental factors underlying the international life of each great European country are sufficiently alike to warrant any general scientific study.

III

The most difficult task facing the authors of area studies is the choice of disciplines to which recourse must be had in order to give an adequate survey of the international life of the country or group of countries under consideration. Every geographical area is naturally a special case and raises its own particular problems. None the less a systematic study should be made drawing upon every study that may furnish worthwhile information. The safest rule then is to overlook nothing that may prove useful and for this it is necessary to feel one's way. The specialists in every subject who are asked to contribute must be carefully guided by the director of the work who must needs be a specialist in international relations. Basically at the present stage the success of an area study depends primarily on the persons conducting it. Without skilful firm guidance each scientist is liable to produce a study excellent in itself but not quite suited to the common aim. A set of first rate studies may to either form a very poor area study. The analysis of facts is not enough; synthesis is also needed and to achieve such synthesis in this type of work the first requirement is to see that each specialist produces not a study on its own of merely a slanted interest but that he makes his contribution to a joint work which must lead to conclusions. The editor therefore has a vital part to play in ensuring unity of approach and co-ordination between the different parts of the work. It is strictly possible to have an area study written by one man as in the case of the above mentioned 'American Foreign Policy Library'. Synthesis is then easier. But there is a very serious risk of many chapters being somewhat superficial or of the works having certain gaps.

Apart from this question of personal guidance a few elementary rules may be laid down. These subjects are of paramount importance in the study of international relations: history, geography and sociology. We cannot

here dwell at length on their use¹ though a few remarks are called for. History affords the only means of distinguishing between what is permanent and what is accidental in the international life of any country. It is the key explaining the interrelationship of facts and though it is neither all explanatory nor self sufficient it clearly reveals the difference between recurring factors and those that are radically new. Imagine an area study on Ireland. History shows us that from the seventeenth century to the mid nineteenth century this country had difficulty in feeding an overcrowded population. An unforeseeable climatic accident put an end to this situation or at least paved the way for its change. In 1846 the potato harvest was so meagre that it resulted in appalling famine. This started off the largest scale emigration movement in history relatively to the total size of the population. Now that Ireland has won her independence it has a far smaller population than 110 years ago. This shows how history can help us to distinguish between the permanent factors (over population and poverty) and the accidental factors (the famine of 1846-47). These two factors must be considered together in order to explain the international life of present day Ireland if only because a large number of the Irish emigrated to the United States of America and there gained an influence which is of no small account in the international.

It is for the director of the area study² in an area to draw upon history in of the country (its frontiers, economic and social history, development, the discovery or exhaustion of natural resources, the repercussions of economic and social events on the political and cultural vitality of the country, the growth and promotion of new social classes and so on, the history of institutions showing their connexion with international life, demographic and religious history and the history of thought. All these factors play their part—though be it noted a limited part—in an area study which is not a historical work aimed at giving a complete account of events. History only serves to show the constant and non recurring factors and to distinguish fundamental from accidental data. Like every branch of science used in an area study it is a means and not an end. All it does is to furnish such conclusions as the requirements of the subject call for. It is for the director of the work to determine in consultation with the specialists what those requirements are.

For geography it is enough to apply the principles outlined above. The international life of a territory or group of territories is obviously moulded by physical, human and economic geography, but it is no less obvious that these factors play only a limited part and cannot explain everything. Human beings quite independently of the geographic setting are responsible for many important phenomena. Accordingly the area study should not be a purely geographic enquiry—interesting though this may be—with little bearing on the study of international relations. All geography will do is to furnish very clear cut conclusions as to the relationship between the spatial considerations emerging from geographical studies and the international life of the area under consideration. It will be noted that it is usually human beings rather than nature that account for the differentiation between territories. An artificial historical frontier such as that separating Canada from the United

States of America has always facilitated commercial contacts and movements of population. The no less artificial historical frontier separating France from Germany and Belgium has always been a national barrier. France has coloured all France. France has been the centre.

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phenomenon which for us is of no importance except with reference to other issues such as France's steel requirements. Is France self-sufficient in steel? one of its most important products. What is its place in world output? in relation to German output? (the political importance of this economic phenomenon may thus be analysed).

The difficulty in geography as in history is to choose exactly what is significant. Here again, the responsibility rests with the director of the work assisted by the specialists contributing to it.

Sociology is of comparable value for area studies and only its underdeveloped state prevents its being used on the same scale as the two above mentioned sciences. The study of social groups should provide a yardstick of their political and cultural influence: their receptivity or impermeability to outside influence and their role in international economic life. The special value of sociological investigation in an area study is that instead of having the given territory treated as one great homogeneous block (which would assuredly be a distortion of the facts) it enables a distinction to be drawn between various categories and fine shades. All forms of sociological research may prove useful. For France for instance Gabriel Le Bras' works on religious sociology reveal the relative importance of religious factors in national and cultural life. The works on electoral sociology under the guidance of André Siegfried show the strength of the state.

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as well as at length on what he terms 'isotopes' for national differentiation. Iconography implies the whole body of concepts dealing with group instincts, beliefs and myths. The study of iconography is obviously a difficult matter and may be based on studies of national stereotypes but they must be supplemented by other studies of group psychology. These conclusions may be profitably recorded in the area study. History, geography and sociology then must form the core of any area study. The director of the work who must above all be a specialist in international relations should have a good grounding in these three disciplines. But there is obviously an infinite variety of other disciplines which must be called into play according to the geographic area under consideration: e.g. anthropology, linguistics, literature, arts, a study of economic and social thought, religious science, even climatology, zoology and botany or in quite another field constitutional law, civil and administrative law and so on.

An important article by I. Kees, 'The standards of France', in *Social and Economic Geography*, Vol. 1, 1951, pp. 69-80. CL in this connection the A. S. S. R. is of interest. *International Social Science Bulletin*, No. 1, 1951, pp. 1-10. CL. Interesting discussion of the sub-ecological reference to the U.S.S.R. and K.A. Wilson. Problem: Contemporary Areas, Studies, and International Relations. *World Politics*, Vol. 1, 1951, pp. 1-10. View: *World Politics*, Vol. 1, 1951, pp. 1-10.

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Their choice is a complex matter demanding of the director of the work wide culture discrimination and a sound general knowledge of the country being studied. Anthropology for instance is of little importance in explaining the international life of France in which a fundamental part is played by currents of thought. This approach could doubtless be reversed for a study of the Caribbean zone. Similarly the politics and cultural life of the Arab League countries are incomprehensible without a thorough study of Moslem theology whereas in South Africa religious life is a less important factor in international relations than racial problems. Apart from the three basic disciplines I feel that some degree of empiricism is inevitable at the present stage in selecting the branches of science to be used in an area study. Stricter criteria may possibly emerge as progress is made with such studies. For the time being we may rest content with an imperfect but workable solution.

Two main conclusions I feel follow from this necessarily cursory survey. The first is that the director of an area study plays a vital part in selecting the geographic area for study and in determining the sciences that may be most profitably used. He will discuss with each contributor exactly what is expected of him. This requires sound knowledge of the region being studied as well as complete open mindedness to save him attempting to foist *a priori* conclusions on the specialists and thus jeopardize the objectivity of the whole work. As in the case of the collection *Modern France* mentioned above it would even be preferable for the different authors to arrive occasionally at contradictory results. This proves that Professor Earle who directed the work was careful not to impose his views. The second conclusion is that the area study must be conducted by a team whether each of the team members writes part of the work himself or leaves it to a single author. The ability to discern the basic factors underlying the international life of the country presupposes full awareness of the complexity of the problems involved—a complexity that is revealed by the numerous points of contact between the various branches of study used. These points of contact are best realized by discussing the problems together if the director himself a specialist in international relations keeps in close touch with his team of scientists each of whom is a specialist in one branch of study but familiar with the study or international relations. It will also be seen from this hasty survey that the area study is a new form of enquiry whose importance is gradually emerging though its exact limits have not yet been clearly defined hence this attempt to clarify the principles of method is necessarily tentative. My primary aim was to give a summary and preliminary synthesis on the basis of the various works published with their encouraging results and imperfection which in themselves are illuminating. Such a synthesis will be useful in so far as it stimulates reactions, discussion and further work along the same lines. The scientific and human value of a better knowledge of foreign countries is so obvious that any attempt however humble to improve this knowledge is bound to be well worth while.

AREA STUDIES AND THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

HANS J. MORGENTHAU

Area studies both historically and analytically form a part of that field of knowledge which is called international relations. The type of area study which is prevalent today owes its existence to the practical need to prepare members of the armed forces for service in foreign countries during the second world war. Those who were expected to take responsible positions in foreign countries had to get acquainted as quickly as possible with the language, geography, culture and history of those countries. Not only were these courses successful in their immediate purpose but they also provided intellectual advantages which foreign area not in itself.

Area studies are generally called cross fertilization. The process upon the minds of the student goes by the way of cross fertilization.

In order to understand what area studies thus conceived are able to contribute to the study of international relations it is first necessary to understand the basic problems to which the recognition of international relations and area studies as academic disciplines has given rise. This investigation will show that these two novel academic disciplines must solve the same basic problems. If one wants to put the issue in epigrammatic and therefore oversimplified form one might say that the main problem as yet unsolved that confronts these two academic disciplines is that they have not been able to acquire intellectual discipline. They have no intellectually valid focus which could give unity to their intellectual endeavours and they have no common method by which the results of their investigations could be tested.

These deficiencies have been as obvious in the study of international relations as they are in area studies. They are the more obvious in the latter since area studies have made integrations on the main claim for recognition as an academic discipline. Area studies are in the process of showing—and the most mature discussion of the problems shows that with particular clarity—that they stand and fall with the precise formulation of a relevant problem to which different academic disciplines are to contribute. If area studies can demonstrate in practice that success in international studies area or otherwise depends upon the precise definition of a common problem and the sharp focus of all relevant research upon that problem they will indeed have made an outstanding contribution to the study of international relations.

I

When after the first world war the study of international relations gained recognition as an independent academic discipline it had three main intellectual

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The scientific and human value of a better knowledge of foreign countries is so obvious that any attempt however humble to improve this knowledge is bound to be well worth while.

belongs to all countries. Anything one wants to then becomes international. From this point of view seasickness is an international fact not only does one experience it on all oceans but there are societies against that disease and one can conceive of an international league whose purpose it is to do research and compare the methods with which to combat the disease. Yet the question remains outside our field of inquiry until one concerns oneself with the conclusion of an international convention obligating vessels to equip themselves with certain medicines which are recognized as necessary for the protection against seasickness.

I beg your pardon for having chosen that imaginary example. I wanted only to indicate the need for a narrow definition of international studies.

The organization of academic teaching and research in international relations has largely reflected the vagueness and eclecticism of the theoretical conception of international relations as an academic discipline. There has been a general tendency to divide the field of international relations into a number of subdivisions whose common denominator is their transcendence of national boundaries either geographically or functionally. These subdivisions we have selected from the traditional academic disciplines either in toto such as international law and international economics or rearranged through the selection of individual courses taken from different disciplines. Thus all the courses which for instance had a reference to Russia in their title would be grouped under the area heading of Russia.

It could not have passed unnoticed that the intellectual unity of an academic field thus established was bound to be of a most superficial nature and that where the occurred real integration and cross-fertilization among several academic disciplines credit was due to the creative process occurring in the minds of outstanding students rather than to the academic organization of the field. Attempts have therefore been made in recent years to give international relations the unity of an academic discipline by buttressing the eclectic organization of the field with a general or core course or number of courses which are supposed to present the distinctive characteristics of international relations as an academic discipline. This core generally covers the field of international law, international organization, international politics, international economics, international geography, American and European diplomatic history with such additions as meet the preferences of individual institutions. Most textbooks in the field effect the eclectic character of this core. For such a core if it has no focus other than that of the international character of international relations cannot help being as eclectic and disparate as the field itself.

II

The problems with which area studies must cope in order to live up to the promise of integration and cross-fertilization are similar *mutatis mutandis* to those with which the academic discipline of international relations has dealt thus far without spectacular success. The central problem is again that of focus and method.

We have already pointed to the practical needs of warfare which have given rise to the recognition of area studies as a major academic discipline. Practical

interests history international law and political reform It is not by accident that the first two occupants of the first chair of international politics the one which was founded in 1919 at the University of Wales were distinguished historians Professors Zimmern and Webster There can of course be no doubt that knowledge of history and more particularly of diplomatic history forms an indispensable element of international relations but as shall be shown later in this paper while the student of international relations must have a thorough knowledge of history his intellectual interest is not identical with that of the historian

Obviously the intellectual interest of international relations is in the present and the future rather than in the past and especially in the inter war years that interest was conceived in terms of international law International relations were considered to move on two different levels the legal one which presented the rules by which States were supposed to act and the empirical one which showed how they actually did act in view of the rules of international law Thus general history diplomatic history and international law became three cornerstones of the study of international relations

The fourth cornerstone of the study of international relations is less easy to identify For it is formed by the aspirations for a better world morally respectable in themselves but vaguely conceived and identified with whatever remedy seems to be fashionable at a particular time Thus we find that the focus of academic interest changes continuously in accordance with the preferences of public opinion centring on disarmament one day the League of Nations or the United Nations another world government or regional federation another again

The interstices between these herent coll ~ disciplines

filled in with an incoherent collage of academic disciplines a particular nation being in common that they transcend the a chair of international politics to the University of Wales and describing its purposes as the study of those related problems of law and politics of ethics and economics which are raised by the project of a League of Nations and for the encouragement of a truer understanding of civilizations other than our own Reading the voluminous proceedings of the International Institute of Intellectual Co operation which in the inter war years dedicated much of its work to the discussion of international relations as an academic discipline one cannot but be struck by the amorphousness of the discussion and the vagueness of the results One speaker seems to have well summarized the consensus of those meetings when he said

The science of international relations has primarily a descriptive character It is somewhat in the order of the contemporary history of nations covering all fields economics trade exchange movement of production of goods of currency as well as politics and culture The factor uniting the problems which form the science of international relations is their international character that is to say the tie which is created among all domains of social life when that life transgresses the limits of one single nation and influences the relations among nations

The same consensus is reflected in the ironic comment rare in its critical detachment yet typical in its bias in favour of international law of another speaker who expressed himself thus One can without doubt call international any phenomenon because it

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of the time on this level than on that of consciously determined responses to the situations he meets in everyday life. At first glance such a statement may seem overdrawn but only a slight consideration of the facts is necessary to dispel the illusion that conscious thought predominates in guiding behaviour.

Thus for example it is rare that reactions to any aspect of linguistic structure rise above the level of consciousness any more than does the phonemic system employed in pronouncing the words of one's language. The same is true of the meaning of these words. This frees the individual to give conscious thought to what he is going to say and makes it unnecessary for him to pay attention to the mechanisms of speech he must use in saying it. This statement also applies to music to systems of etiquette to moral codes to canons of value to aesthetic responses. These it should be noted are cultural elements in which conscious thought enters least. When it is realized that the same principle holds to some degree whenever an individual reacts to any culturally derived stimulus that does not involve the element of choice between alternatives it becomes clear to what extent the human being lives on the plane of automatic behaviour and thus how effectively he is enculturated.

Cultural responses moreover tend to represent reactions to total situations than to stimuli arising from fragmented elements of experience. This is a way of phrasing the fact that every mode of life is patterned and not haphazard that the individual units of custom the cultural traits so called that can be discerned in a culture by the student of it are in actuality interwoven into a series of interrelated groupings called cultural patterns. This patterning of culture the outer expression of its regularity in organization and functioning is the means by which a particular culture develops those special configurations that permit us to differentiate it from other cultures. In psychological terms cultural patterns are to be regarded as consensuses of the individual behaviour patterns of the members of a given group that distinguish their characteristic reactions from those of the members of other groups. On the level of the objective analysis of culture cultural patterns are to be thought of as providing the institutional framework for behaviour as when we speak of the pattern of marriage of a people or their patterns of production or distribution or their patterns of religious worship.

Besides conditioning the individual to the modes of behaviour of his group the enculturative experience creates for him a behaviour world to guide his perceptions no less than his overt acts. Time and space and distance colour and rhythm are thus culturally defined for him the continuum of nature is structured in terms of the conventions set up by his culture.¹ The spectrum is arbitrarily divided into colours which vary in their interpretation from society to society but for all. The gamut of the infinite physical socially acceptable intervals or the division of time is guided by linguistic devices employed to mark off one socially conceived unit from another. The endless merging of natural phenomena comes to be subsumed under categories that make the world comprehensible to the individual and permit the character of reality to be transmitted from one generation to the next.

A. I. H. W. W. Cultural Factors in the Situation of Perception : Social Psychology at the Crossroad
(J. H. R. Brecht ed.) New York 1953 p. 64-93

o the techniques he will employ in drinking or the ideals of beauty that will stimulate him sexually.

In terms of the bio-psychic requirements of the organism cultural imperatives represent derived needs but the responses to them are none the less powerful because they are derived and not primary. One of the outstanding characteristics of the human infant is the generalized character of his behaviour. His motor habits are ungeneralized a d h — satisfaction dependent o very significant aspect consists of a series of responses to those with whom he is in contact. We thus come to that aspect of the process of enculturation called socialization especially as this occurs in infancy and early childhood. As we have seen socialization provides the mechanisms whereby the infant is integrated into his group experiencing increasing degrees of control over his modes of behaviour and thought which are taken over first from the members of his immediate family and then, as he grows older from a widening circle of associates.

As the patterns of motor behaviour and emotional responses become more sharply structured in the growing individual so does the motivational system. Freud and his followers have demonstrated how large a role the motivational forces that determine the behaviour of the individual play in shaping his personality structure. From a developmental point of view their findings have demonstrated how early in his existence the resulting pattern of responses manifest in later life are laid down. As one psychologist has phrased it: "While personal histories differ in details most of them suggest that a predominant motive is established in childhood largely through the influence of social contacts. As the individual gets older one activity after another may be taken up while others which no longer contribute to the satisfaction of the pre-dominant motive or which contribute less than the new activity are dropped."

The emphasis here is on the individual but if we approach the question from a cross-cultural point of view we find in overt behaviour as in these underlying psychological drives that individual variation is limited by a culturally defined framework. Though the problem of the degree to which these fundamental aspects of the human personality structure are culturally influenced has been studied only for a relatively short time our growing knowledge of how the individual responds to the cultural situation into which he is born has forced acceptance of the principle that culture is a major factor in shaping responses on all levels.

For our purpose the key in the formulation that has been cited is that the predominant motives which rule the lives of individuals are established largely through the influence of social contacts. Into cross-cultural terms this brings into play the factor of consensus. For since methods of infant care and child training will within the limits of individual and regional variation, follow reasonably consistent patterns in achieving the enculturation of the individual it follows that each member of a given society will have been exposed to similar experiences in the early years of his existence when so much of his personality structure is under formation. The implications of this fact take us over the entire range of problems that are contained in the

existence or ■ a derived reality that lodges in the minds of observers rather than in the phenomenon itself

Controversies of this order mark the approach of scientists in any field to their data and turn on questions of the highest importance as means by which fundamental research is oriented. For those outside the field however the relevance of these differing positions is of a lesser order. Thus in studying problems of the psychology of culture it is more important for us to analyse the cultural component in terms which represent agreement as to the nature and function of culture than it is to enter into the peripheral areas where concept and method are under refinement. Conversely in studying the same interdisciplinary problems from the psychological point of view those principles that represent the core of agreement among psychologists must not be subordinated to any particular position that has been taken regarding them. We have seen that the learning process ■ fundamental in culture but in studying the cross cultural manifestations of education for example the varieties of learning theory come to hold a place of secondary importance. On the other hand in an investigation of this type the general principle that social behaviour ■ essentially learned while the genetic instinctual component is minimal a question where controversy has been resolved into agreed principle is of primary significance.

Whatever the approach to the problem of motivation it is agreed that one of its important functions is to aid the organism continuously to reach the adjustment required by the total situation in which it finds itself. In terms of gestalt psychology this represents at any given moment a striving for the achievement of equilibrium in the total field situation. There are many theories about its nature and development one of which that stresses the factor of need being strikingly similar to the hypothesis we have encountered in discussing theories of the nature of culture—one which it may be said is subject to quite similar reservations. For our purpose we recognize that to the extent motivational drives arise out of the psycho-physical make up of man they are universal and can be thus held as constants in analyzing the variables represented by their socially and culturally derived manifestations. The physiological universals that is enter only in terms of the manner and degree to which the experience of the individual as expressed in the cultural and physical setting shapes his choices between alternatives providing him with the values which direct his approaches to given situations and guide his reactions to them.

Whatever the approach to the problem of motivation it is agreed that one of its important functions is to aid the organism in reaching adjustment of the kind which may be thought of as the psychological equivalent of the physiological state termed homeostasis. In terms of gestalt psychology this represents the achievement of equilibrium in the total field situation. It is obvious that the needs of the organism figure prominently in determining these reactions as where the individual is motivated to look for food or to find shelter from extreme heat or cold or to seek sexual gratification. Yet in the final analysis there ■ relatively little of human behaviour in the precise terms in which this behaviour is manifested that can be immediately attributed to this source. Even in such elementary responses as those to food or thirst or sex the intervening term of social convention always enters.

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manifestation on the social level of those elements in the total experience of the individual members of a group which hold most interest for them. From

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importance in achieving the unities of a world economic order has brought questions of this kind to the forefront of scientific concern

One of the major aspects of our problem has been phrased by Moore.¹ What kinds of circumstances will induce workers to leave traditional modes of production and enter modern economic activity and what additional circumstances are necessary to secure skills and services essential to the industrial mode of production with its attendant specialization? Let us extend this formulation by phrasing some of the ancillary questions that the study of economic change in its broadest ramifications involves.

A comprehensive approach must include a consideration of how economic expressions of value are re-ordered into terms of money where money did not previously exist or to currency where the tokens used in effecting exchange were not pecuniary ones. It should take into account how people are introduced to the concept of saving as related to the allocation of income so as to provide capital funds for industrial development with future rather than immediate return the end in view. New attitudes towards the acquisition of unfamiliar goods of all kinds must be probed and how patterns of the validation of social position by the consumption of valuable goods in excess of daily needs are changed. The attitudes toward the degree of specialization under industrial development that so materially alters the satisfactions a worker derives from participation in an industrial order based on the handicraft system must also be analysed.

One caution arising out of the record of past research should be drawn. This concerns the tendency undoubtedly a reflection of the unconsciously enculturated ethnocentrism of the student to overweight the power of the industrial tradition to impose itself on technological and economic orientations of peoples who live under less complex systems. Where the approach is primarily from the economic or technological point of view this is understandable in view of the differences in complexity and achievement between the systems of non industrial peoples and that of Euro-America. This difference is demonstrably so great that without an appreciation of the

¹ W. E. Moore, *Industrialization and Labor: Social Aspects of Economic Development* (Ithaca and New York, 1926).

simple statement of everyday observation that peoples differ from one another. These problems however despite their importance have scarcely been more than adumbrated and because of their complexity face the student with methodological difficulties that are far from resolved and which therefore need not enter into this discussion.

What is important is that the common elements in the enculturative experience of the members of a given group set up particular drives that characterize the responses of those who make up its adult components as against equally characteristic responses of the members of other groups. It is out of this fact that derived needs however expressed in a society come to carry the same conviction to its members as those which are patently determined by biological requirement. This explains in large measure why the ends sought by men and women of a particular society are patterned since from a cross cultural point of view these are no more than socially sanctioned responses to prevalent motivational drives. The configuration of common motives and goals that dominate the behaviour of the members of a group thus become the equivalent of what in the analysis of culture has been termed cultural focus: the sum of the institutionalized forms of a culture which in commanding the interests of a people represents those of its components which most highly motivate the people and in which the goals toward which their activities are directed bring the richest rewards as culturally defined.

An approach to the problem of motivation that has significant implications for the cross cultural analysis of problems such as those with which we are concerned here is found in the concept of the dynamic system advanced by Krech¹ to account for the continuity of characteristic responses found in the individual. He holds first that the so called motivational and cognitive attributes will be involved in every one of our experiences and behaviour and that the so called motivational attributes of any experience will be intimately related to all other attributes and will change as they change. Continuing he states: If we wish to speak of a hunger motive for example we must simultaneously speak of the so called perceptual cognitive memorial and other attributes of the experience. My hunger is not the same as yours because my Dynamic System *re* food and eating are not the same as yours. And neither you nor I can have any pure sex motive—they are both sullied by cognitive factors. Therefore since Dynamic Systems are relative enduring structures it follows that the given system of an individual functions in any situation in which he finds himself so that behaviour will show both variability and consistency in its motivational and emotional and intellectual aspects.

It is apparent that if we accept this postulate that knowing and wanting form a single psychological unit and agree that in cultural terms both knowledge and wants are established for the individual through his enculturative experience we have here a principle of some importance for cross cultural study. This is especially the case where we are concerned with economic factors in cultural change since here both means and ends must be taken into account where either the technological system or the system of production distribution and exchange or both are involved. At this point we return to the concept of cultural focus which as we have seen is the

¹ D. Krech, *Cognitive Motivation in Psychological Theory*, in *Current Trends in Psychological Theory*, W. D. Denny et al., Pittsburgh, 1955, p. 3.

industrial scene? What precisely is the effect of the colour bar in industry as manifest in unequal wage scales segregation in jobs differing approaches to unionization differentials in housing? What are the relations of these to the culture-bar that arises out of the differences in opportunity to reach those standards of living and education set for persons deemed fully prepared to action of affairs? Must we not also recognize the need of the Europeans in the scene emphasis laid on the need to concentrate on the position of native people

It is illuminating to read the exposition of the total problem as exemplified in the approach to the practical issue of housing Africans in the city of Elizabethville that has been given by Grévisse.¹ Here full recognition is accorded the importance of taking pre-established attitude and social position of Africans and Africans alike fully into consideration

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moyennement par la propriété et stimulée toujours davantage par des
apports professionnels sans cesse accrus

Let us briefly review the theoretical scheme that has been presented in these pages. The principal concepts with which we have dealt are motivation and cultural pattern. Motivation even on the biological level we have seen to be structured by the cultural setting in which behaviour occurs. Enculturation on the process of cultural conditioning provides the mechanism of learning which permits the individual to act in accordance with the accepted modes of his society with the promptness and decisiveness that so largely comes from the automatic character of his responses. These patterned reactions thus both satisfy the requirements of his primary biological needs and secondary drives and make possible his physical well-being and psychological adjustment.

Every culture however is made up of aggregates of patterns. These consist of cultural elements which to the members of a society appear as integrated units. Behaviour thus takes on its configurational quality and as objectively discernible presents overt responses to the internalization of culturally patterned experiences. From this it becomes apparent that the study of any segment of a culture without the exclusion of other elements or of the psychological base makes for a distorted view whether on the level of cultural stimulus or socially patterned response. Hence analysing economic or technological

Grévisse, Le Centre Extra-Colonial d'Elizabethville. *Bulletin Trimestriel du Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Socio-économiques (CEPSI)* no. 5 5 p. 3

we are here confronted with a question of ultimate values where material gain may be discounted despite the very considerable pull of positive incentives that Moore has documented in his research

Certainly it is much simpler to study the acceptance of change than the rejection of new ways. One of the most difficult problems faced by students of any aspect of cultural change is the methodological one of how to bring the pre-established elements in the scene into proper proportion in analyzing the resultant situation. The lesson may be in the way of being learned in the hard school of experience. We need not go to the various large scale schemes to see this. We need only take the case of the Am-

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in terms of the strife engendered between the women of a village were as vigorous as they were unexpected. We hear much of the disorganization which industrial development produces and especially how those who have received European education tend to lose their cultural anchorage and drift at a loss dissatisfied with the old because they have rejected it with the new because they cannot attain it. Yet the number of educated Africans is not small who would agree with the sentiment expressed by such a person concerning one product of the pre-existing technological system its wood carving. If we don't take steps to save these things we will have nothing. We'll be like people who don't have anything they can call their own culture.

This does not mean that undue stress should be laid on the force of these pre-existing patterns for this would be as unrealistic as is the prevalent tendency to neglect them. Thus in the regions where a positive appreciation of established custom is found one also is confronted with the phenomena of urbanization people leaving their villages to live in towns and accepting the new discipline of employment in industry or trade or going to mine compounds where the reorientations in customary behaviour are even more extensive. New prestige patterns develop under these situations that must be studied otherwise for example why in the mines of the Katanga would the young men prefer training as mechanics and artisans rather than as masons and carpenters? Or for example how do we explain the reorientation in motivating factors that causes a miner on the Rand to leave the security of the mine compound for the competitive labour market of secondary industry? Beyond this what motivations in this segment of the South African economy lie behind the turnover in labour of those who have apparently accepted this method of earning a living a turnover that is one of the highest in the world?

The variety of responses to the developing industrial scene coupled with the differences in the pre-existing cultures and the range of different economic policies and practical measures to implement them to which they are exposed is what makes of Africa such an excellent laboratory for the study of our problem. In studying it the factors which are operative in most of the continent give the controls essential for the comparative analysis of attitudes that accompany the changing economic no less than the changing social and political scene. Or again granting acceptance of certain aspects of the new what is the role of the non-economic habitudes in pre-existing custom particularly those that concern the supernatural what forms do they take in situations dominated by the scientific approach that marks industrialization how do they influence the attitudes of Africans who come to participate in the

best. But I am not trying to cover the whole range of phenomena presented by these diverse societies. What I hope to do is to set out some of the main considerations involved when money is introduced to an economy in which it has formerly not been known or when there is a sudden expansion of the uses to which it can be put. This may indicate a framework of propositions for argument and research. The presentation is helped by the great variations found in the region. On the one hand there are relatively simple economic systems such as those of Tikopia or of the central highlands of New Guinea to which money is just being introduced; on the other there is the relatively sophisticated economy of peasant Malays or Indonesians in which money of various types has been known and used for centuries in some transactions.

At this stage it would be imprudent to pretend to have achieved
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peasant producer has no interest in a technical device but only in the income effects to be derived from it. Just as conservatism in the adoption of traditional tools may be in part a compound of aesthetic and economic use and quality of results and so the welcome given to a new tool is due to its better technical quality and the novel skills which can be developed with it and the social esteem which its control may bring. But on the whole though these elements may influence the adoption of a new technical device they are marginal to its permanent establishment. In the long run it is the effects upon incomes and consumption levels both experienced and anticipated that seem to be of major importance. In a peasant economy technological progress is not conceived as a normal desirable end towards which special sectors of economic effort should be

directed. Since social changes associated with technical changes and the economic changes associated with this stage of analysis are wider adoption of technical devices and the development of a new type of work for wages the important social changes that come about may be due as much to the patterns and results of this new type of work as to the fact that they get money for it.

Thirdly the primary purpose of this paper is social theory not social policy. Although in some cases the accumulation and interpretation of

CHARACTERISTICS AND EXCHANGE VARIANTS IN PEASANT ECONOMY

Before discussing the social changes associated with the intervention of a money economy in the wide sense the major characteristics of an Indo-

factors alone are not sufficient to determine a solution deeply

formulations that strike point toward workable

When we find that our knowledge of the cultures of the non Euro-American is well advanced but that comparable knowledge of our resources in the way of available data is not, we are faced with the problem of how to proceed. The method of the cross cultural approach to the study of people is one of the most promising. It involves knowledge the results of inter disciplinary investigations which will reveal the psychological patternings that underlie the behaviour individual and institutionalized that has been observed and reported. To those studies in personality type that have dominated the field of the cross cultural approach to the study of people, it should be added intensive research in perception and motivation. This will help to understand behaviour and shape the resources of the psycho ethnographic approach. Then we may anticipate not only that we will move towards a more basic knowledge of human behaviour but that we will control and interpret more effectively the data that are essential to provide adequate scientific guidance for drawing and implementing sound policy in solving the problems of individual and social adjustment.

MONEY, WORK AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN INDO-PACIFIC ECONOMIC SYSTEMS

R. FIRTH

My main object in this paper is to examine the social effects of the introduction or expansion of monetary exchange in a peasant economic system. An alteration of this kind in the technical media of exchange need not *a priori* have of itself any social concomitants. It is theoretically possible for the appearance of a novel type of exchange medium such as money or for an enlargement of the amounts of money available and of its uses to have effect in economic terms alone facilitating the circulation of goods and their production without making any substantial changes in the social position of the people involved. In fact however this is very unlikely—social values usually tend to be attached to the new income or consumption effects. And even if income and consumption effects are not large the new experiences of the people involved are of great importance. I am taking my examples from the Indo-Pacific region because that is the one I know best.

Firstly the aim of this paper is analytical not ethnographic. I am taking my examples from the Indo-Pacific region because that is the one I know best.

tion of human choices. When we speak of the social implications of technological change we do not mean that the total process is inevitable. We mean only that an initial acceptance or commitment in the technological field is likely to be followed by certain results. Some of these may be foreseen but others may not. Yet it is these unforeseen results which are often of greatest importance. They are often undesired. Being unexpected no provision is made for them. In the long term rather than short term they may be the determining factor in the trend of economic systems.

Several kinds of systems are found according to the degree to which money of Western type is used. There are those few systems where money is not used and purchasing power is provided by barter—cloth, mats and shell goods. There are those systems still common in the Pacific where Western money is used for a limited range of transactions but where other articles of more traditional type also still have purchasing power. Here and there is variation. Some systems, as on the south coast of New Guinea, using money for most exchanges of goods and services reserve their treasures for certain particularly important uses of human beings in which money plays a special role. Others, as on the Gazelle peninsula, may have a single or multiple exchange medium. So on the Rabaul market one may see fruit and vegetables sold indifferently for tobacco, for cowrie shells or for cash. Again there are the systems common in Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaya, where money is the general medium for a range of transactions comparable with those of a Western rural economy. The points of significance in these distinctions are the types of services and goods for the purchase of which money can be employed and the level or range of purchase which can be undertaken. Every society has its conventions about which kinds of goods and services are proper for calculation and exchange in monetary terms and which are not. One of the important implications of the introduction or enlargement of a money system in an economy is the re-estimation of goods and particularly of services which is likely to follow. This may mean an effect of a re-orientation of the moral values of the society. One of the most meaningful aspects of the coming of a money economy may be said to be the introduction of a medium of exchange with external as well as internal purchasing power. Reference to an external standard is likely to tend at once to a revision of internal estimations and by offering hitherto unknown or unrealizable alternatives to alter conventional placings of resources. Similar results are likely to follow from a rapid expansion of the monetary medium, as by the opening up of new markets for labour or commodities.

EFFECTS OF INTRODUCTION TO A WAGE ECONOMY

Let us now examine in more detail what the economic and social results are likely to be in a community where money with an external purchasing power

Money, London, 9/1/22 to 10/1/22
beyond the point of usefulness
which do not
bring about the service quality

media

Pacific peasant economy may be outlined.¹ The -
 and technology
 There is no high
 of a limited cha - , a range of goods and services
 involved. In prices conventional estimations are apt to play a large part and a
 price is often not given monetary expression. Control of the means of produc-
 tion is non-capitalistic: capital exists but the owner of it does not control
 the productive process: there is no clear separation of capitalist rentier from
 worker management in the persons contributing to production or sometimes
 even in function when the person is the same. This merging of factor control
 is seen also in the merging of rewards of production—the lack of separation of
 interest wages and management rewards for example. The scale of producing
 units and the volume of product for any single unit are comparatively small.
 The scheme of economic relations thus tends naturally to be of a more personal-
 ized order than in a Western economy. This kind of economic system is
 closely geared to a type of society in which the social units over much of the
 field of operation are small with a local community emphasis in which
 leadership and authority are largely produced from within the local group
 and are often kinship based or kinship linked; and in which local religious
 cults tend to strengthen the community in many of its operations. Despite
 the great variation in scale and in sophistication such characteristics are
 common throughout the region.

Such a system is conservative in the sense that there is rarely a wish to reject
 radically any of its major institutional elements² and substitute others. But
 there may be no stubborn refusal to adopt new items. There may be indeed an
 enthusiastic acceptance of them with the implication that they are additions
 to the economic and cultural stock of a system which retains its basic familiar
 character. So subtly have new crops entered the economy of Indo Pacific
 communities that it is almost impossible to reconstruct any indigenous
 production scheme for agriculture. The adoption in recent times of the
 drought resisting manioc in Tikopia for instance has made significant changes
 in the crop cycle and is likely to alter correspondingly the system of land use
 and tenure. The substitution of steel axe for stone axe in the interior of New
 Guinea—a process now almost complete—seems to have led to greatly increased
 felling of primary forest with alteration of the balance in the provision of
 natural soil cover and increase in danger of soil erosion and loss of fertility.
 Thus while the impetus to social change may be said to be given by a
 technological change this in itself has only been possible by an acceptance or
 committal—to use a fashionable term—which has welcomed the possibility
 of increased income in at least some limited - .

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 of
 in - efficiency of the new instruments or
 processes one must be willing to subject oneself (or others if one has command
 over their labour) to a new discipline. In order to obtain the benefits one
 must forego some types of satisfaction hitherto enjoyed. Change is the implica-

¹ For the detailed - in my *Malay F -* -

ECONOMIC MOTIVATIONS AND STIMULATIONS

- on the one hand the creation of new working roles especially those which may give some workers margins of activity in a money economy and new working opportunities. For instance, a woman working on a

scheme. A Papuan woman may get four or five times as much in real wages as when she is planting on or the roads.

Yet the introduction of a money economy may also tend to remove from the labour market some marginal categories of labour which were absorbed in the traditional economy as their limited capacity went beyond the traditional economy and many young persons who are not yet employed.

ment.

the wage labour force which handles migrant labour in the economic system.

in families that use

in the economic structure. Alternatively would be the men's economic scheme.

The income effects of these operations have repercussions in the wider economic and social spheres.

The wage labour pattern tends to provide income in relatively large sums as against the small increments of local marketing in the more unsophisticated systems and thus may affect consumption patterns. With the advent of a monetary economy there is also usually an enlargement of consumption patterns by taking in goods not purchasable by the traditional circulating media. This involves the possibility of greater differentiation in property holding and the modification of cultural interests owing to differences in taste and to a

type of work they prefer to

the remuneration were increased greatly to two or three or even twelve times what they were receiving in addition to their food they still stated a preference for the conventional notion about earning

and decrease in the target's earnings.

For instance, the only permanent form of investment is in land and they are used to preparing sago, the main work to procure a certain level of income to meet fully obligations to build a house or to arrange a marriage. Otherwise they do not produce sago. If the price of sago is high and cash is therefore easy to obtain, the women tend to reduce the time they spend in tramping

has not previously operated or has operated at only a very low volume of transactions. For simplicity take first situations of money acquisition through wage payments as in a plantation economy. What money may do in such circumstances is

It may introduce an element of uncertainty into the socio-economic operations of some people and reduce the relative level of skill of those not regularly handling it.

One money but handled with admittedly imperfect knowledge of its relations and the price levels of commodities within their economic universe. They had to rely on others to undertake transactions for them. By a few old men and many women there was still no real understanding of the nature of money and its operations. This situation can be paralleled by the observation of Odaka and his colleagues on the

sums involved were small and limited. But they were not able to figure out the values with ease: many women and even some of the elders could not distinguish 5 sen from 10 sen and they confused sen and yen. All this obviously gives an economic advantage and probably a status advantage too to those who take on an interpretative or middleman's role.¹

The introduction of money from wage labour may result in a temporary inflation or pseudo inflation in that the amounts of goods and services for which it is regarded as suitable equivalent may be relatively small and knowledge of the market imperfect. Hence prices may be uneven as regards alternatives, rise erratically and give windfall profits to some people in positions of temporary advantage.

Money wages may reduce margins of skill, ability and responsibility between workers in respect of traditional types of tasks. For example, on a plantation or in similar types of work where there is little differentiation made, the common payment of flat rates per month means that all workers of the same classification get the same income irrespective of skill. (Steadiness and energy may lead to retention in employment however.) In the traditional economic principles of equal sharing in teamwork the

Diff. of individual or team piece work or by bonuses for higher output or by having a graded scheme of jobs can all tend to give expression to elements of skill and ability. In all such work there is a general

¹ Odaka, Economic Organization of the Latex Plantation in the Malay Peninsula (Yale Southeast Asian Studies) Vol. 1, 1955.

ECONOMIC MOTIVATIONS AND SIMULATIONS

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This involves the possibility of greater differentiation in property holding
diversification of cultural interests owing to differences in taste and to a
wider range of personal incomes.

On the other hand while the substitution of money for the traditional means
of remuneration may enlarge the economic field it will not necessarily do so
or do so to the extent expected. In the scheme of preferences the attractions
of traditional non wage employment may still be higher either subsistence
agriculture etc. or cash-cropping. The Li of Ha nan worked in the iron mines
because they were drafted not for the money. To the question as to which
type of work they preferred they all answered farming. And when asked if
their mine pay were increased greatly to two or three or even twelve times
what they were receiving in addition to their food they still stated a prefer-
ence for farm work. Again while the conventional notion about earning
money is that one gets as much of it as one can the backward sloping supply
curve of labour is often found with the advent of a monetary reward for work.
The worker is used to having a certain level of consumption goods as his
target and so long as he can reach this he is satisfied. So an increase in the
rates of wages may result not in an increase of the amount of work done but
in a decrease once the target is reached sooner. For the Melanau of Sarawak
for instance the only permanent form of investment is in land and they are
used to comparing saving their main work to procure a certain level of income,

the sago pith. If a young man has earned enough money for clothes and customary presents to girls, he stops felling and rasing sago palms. The hardest workers are married men with young families or landless orphans at marriageable age.¹ For them the

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this only provides the initial impetus in dynamic situations. Moreover, as Hogbin points out, proximity to a market may make a great difference to the situation. In Busama, which is near the small market town of Lae, older men can earn small sums themselves and this mitigates the challenge of the young men.

This alteration in income structure again may not necessarily involve a corresponding alteration in the wealth structure of the community. This depends on how far three elements operate:

1. Traditional arrangements for control of income may still be recognized which secure to the senior members of the community the major handling of what income is obtained. In many Pacific societies returning plantation labourers hand over to their father or other senior kinsman a considerable portion of their wages. Hogbin notes that among Busama men on the north coast of New Guinea it was the usual practice to give to the guardian (father or uncle) about half the wages brought back, about one quarter to another uncle, and to divide the members of the
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chairs as well as that of his own clan chief—and they amounted to a substantial tribute.
2. New forms of arrangement may still retain the general control by the senior members of the community or the community interest in the use of the new wealth. A case of this is the collection of funds by Toaripi people (of southern New Guinea) working for wages in Port Moresby to help finance the purchase and transport of a trading schooner to carry their copra.⁴
3. Competing attractions for the use of income may tend to drain off some of the accumulated income. In some societies the pressure of the demands of young women results in large scale spending on female consumption goods which reduce the amounts of money taken back home. Or again

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m
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if savings banks or savings societies have managed to be established the accumulation of capital there may mean that the alteration of the wealth structure takes a long time to become visible or to have an effect on production or consumption

Other effects of a wage labour system may include a reduction in the independence of women whose incomes now may be comparatively reduced so who may have to rely more directly on their menfolk for cash to buy what they want. It may mean also the creation of more vulnerable categories of persons—in old folk, deformed, etc. Since they cannot be enlisted for labour they are thrown more on the resources of others, especially if there is a reduction in the traditional forms of employment or if monetary standards tend also to be applied to employment within the society.

COMMODITY PRODUCTION AND TRADE

It is especially at the rates generally prevailing in India, with their small capital resources and in the economic structure, that the effect on the other hand offers more scope. If we consider commodity marketing for cash such as occurs in many parts of the region we are at once confronted with a different range of motivations than for wage labour. The vegetable marketing of the Malay or Bornean peasant woman may bring in only a few cents per day—an income which however does allow of independent subsistence by many members of vulnerable social categories such as widows or divorcees. At the other end of the scale a Malay or Chinese master fisherman or vegetable grower or rubber producer or a New Guinea or Gambia Peninsula copra tapper may have annual earnings in thousands of dollars or hundreds of pounds. There is at least a marked change in the size of the transactions of many of the people from wage labour to commodity production and marketing.

Thus the general effects on the income and wealth structure with similar changes in the social structure are certain.

Among the economic motivations of the income structure are the incalculable elements of drought, flood, and fluctuations of raw material prices, and sudden and more severe with the commodity production than in the labourer since wages tend to have a distinct net long-run response to changes in raw material prices. This tends then to involve a different type of selectivity in the economic processes. The entrepreneur in commodity production or marketing tends to emerge as an individual with more distinct economic responsibilities sharper in perception of economic

All the illustrations given in this paper are based on the data collected in India and have been given by J. H. Bock of the Department of Economics in the Government of India.

advantage often impatient of claims of his communal obligations. On the other hand his need for initial capital may make him continue in close relation with others of the community on whom he may draw. And the need for equitable relations with labour may lead him to continue in working association with kinsfolk and others in traditional patterns. There is also the tendency for the general social values of his community to weigh heavily with him especially if there be added to them additional elements resulting from inter racial competition or conflict.

Hence there is the common tendency for the entrepreneur in such conditions to operate within a local social milieu. The complex interchange of goods and services involved in the production or marketing scheme until the time when he has

lived out his life at a community interest it may be hard to identify the shares which go to economic functions rather than to persons. As has been often discovered book keeping in such circumstances may be a difficult task. Too literal adherence to the rules of accountancy may rob the operations of much of their spontaneity. Yet a good index of the extent to which the advent of a monetary economy has brought with it Western economic notions is the effective accounting system practised for example by some of the co-operative societies in New Guinea and elsewhere. One of the useful functions of the new entrepreneur however is to act as stimulus and example to his fellows.

One of the great problems in this whole field is that of capital formation. While commodity production and marketing offer possibilities of building up considerable wealth they may also lead to great difficulties. The operation of a monetary system with access to external consumer's markets can lead to high rates of expenditure and to the contraction of debts at a level virtually impossible in a traditional non monetary system. If there is a depression in

the largest coconut area the debts were mainly to Chinese and Chettiar money lenders contracted in times of high prices and there was little prospect of their ever being repaid. Indebtedness is of course a great bane of the peasant everywhere and its effects are if anything increased the more the economy is related to external markets. And since so much of the indebtedness is contracted not for the financing or production but to meet consumption requirements there is little opportunity of building up capital thereby in any general fashion. When individuals enrich themselves by

On the other hand organizations which both meet the need for capital greater than that which any individual entrepreneur can provide and yet peg the enterprise to some kind of community interest have been devised in a number of areas. Among the Maori of New Zealand co-operative organizations are of many years standing. Some establish the communal title holders of land as incorporated owners of land and give them the legal right of borrowing funds with which to develop the land in the interest of them all. Under the leadership of the late Sir Apirana Ngata a former Minister for Maori Affairs State aid was obtained for these organizations in various ways

— of some magnitude have been the enterprises a new set of an lay down policy and

men has true beu

administer affairs like a Western business man

Reference to land holding raises another aspect of this problem. In many of the unsophisticated economic systems there is no free market in land. As the systems become transmuted by the advent of a money economy, a market in land may develop with relative freedom of transfer often only with

group approval. In some systems, for instance

to land, allowing to individuals

rights of transfer and transmission

social groups, but some limitations

transmission are regulated by the

with a commodity market gives

courts. In such conditions

a filip to the use of land, changes in the social structure may be stimulated.

In the attempt to gain an income from land, either by personal production or by sale or lease, there have been among the Maori of New Zealand and the Cook Islands, for example, an intensified interest in kin ties as giving title to

lands, disputes over land with much litigation in the courts, and a tendency

in some cases for departure from traditional customs of land inheritance in

favour of testamentary disposition. Apart from this, there has in New Zealand

been much subsequent consolidation. There are

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Moreover the more general tendency has been to promote a change in the inheritance system from matrilineal to patrilineal. This has not been so in the lands classed definitely as ancestral (*tanah pesaka*). It has tended to become manifest elsewhere.

In the Malay Peninsula and the East Indies, the Islamic grounds as well with the local *adat* (customs) furthermore these forces together were in support of and to some degree assisted by the interest of the ruler and his kinsfolk a group of patrilineal descent rules and opposed in some respect to the matrilineal descent leaders by whom they were surrounded and on whom they rely in the body politic as a whole. The process has overtaken their society. Thus a simple process of different processes involved in the process of rubber meant also important changes in the social structure.

Finally one may characterize the subject in more general terms again. As the influence of a monetary economy grows there is a tendency for the scale of social relations to widen as new contacts are formed. On the other hand there is fragmentation and realignment and other changes.

and all this into simple terms. In many organization is seen to be very complex. Changes occur in relations of husband and wife through labour or differential production there is exaggeration or reversal of the economic differences between generations and different frames of reference for social experience appear the authority structure may alter. As the processes continue new structural arrangements may be formed with new class alignments and new patterns of leadership. The requirements of new legal norms and the new ethics of business involve different behavioural sequences. There may be a shift of symbols not only of wealth but also of social and political authority. At the same time

as it were obtruded as a solidarity which may in fact be threatened or lost in other fields.

The resultant of all these forces is likely to be an economy and a society not in equilibrium but with conflicts of ends and conflict about means to secure agreed ends. These processes of social and economic change are not novel. But the diversification of technical skills is a new feature.

are for the most part increasing. The widening of the growing difference between the realm of shared empirical knowledge and skill that common factors of unity are likely to be found. But to think that the future co-ordinating elements may lie in non-empirical systems of ideas suggests also reliance on fairly short term solutions.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S VIEWS ON MACHINES
AND TECHNOLOGY

D P MUKERJI

... at any study of the social changes
sed primarily on an understanding
ch introduces technology and the
conditions are crystallized in two
society to which it is introduced
systems of values one which has accepted and the other which has not
accepted technical progress as desirable or technological advance as a self-
evident good (R. K. Merton *Social Theory and Social Structure* ch. xi: p. 317)
and further if the strains of technological advance which any scheme of
technological assistance brings in its wake must be reduced or eliminated so
as to render the assistance genuinely effective then one of the chief concerns
of the sociologist as well as of the technical administrator is the discovery of
the terms of the normative system of both countries concerned. This does not
... focuses on the social effects of techno-

...
with Western Europe) on Asian countries (believed to be ...
state) the underlying assumption that technological advance is a self-evident
good should be brought to the surface so as to clear the way for the com-
parative normative approach. It is heartening to know that eminent Western
sociologists have recognized the importance of this approach.

But it is disheartening that no formulation of the Eastern value-system
... Eastern sociologist. One reason for this may be that

may be that those who could ...
the very people who believe in technical advance as a self-evident good and
therefore do not worry about the problem beyond the stage of annoyance with
... which in the view of a welfare state or a similar
... Certain economic
... committed to techno-
logical advance to be anxious to study the ... of value systems involved
in the resultant strain. Though one hears about cottage industries and their
potential in India, if one does not see earnest administrative encouragements the
importance attached to them seems to be mainly on the score of their being
able to provide some employment to those who are being thrown out of
employment by technological advance. Gandhi, however, was deeply
and primarily concerned with the value systems. There were others too but
they were less known. Gandhi put his views very sharply indeed. One may not
like his manner of posing the problem, one may consider it as partial, one may
dismiss it if one chooses, so many educated men and industrialists of India
have chosen. But his statements remain a challenge to the entire problem of
technological change and schemes of technical assistance. They should be
taken seriously because many new developments of Indian life cannot

be explained or removed otherwise. From them one might also infer that the term underdeveloped economy which is the excuse of technical assistance was inappropriate insofar as it confused the co-existence of two different value systems by placing them on the assembly line of historical development in which economic growth being the supreme value was subservient to and dependent only upon technological advance. Perhaps Gandhi was unfair to the European civilization; it may also be that he did not subscribe to the unilinear concept of history. But it is certain that he had other values and his understanding of India at least was unerring. We Indians love to think that Gandhi's views correctly represent the unformulated values of the vast majority of the Indian population towards social changes. They as he would say would welcome change on their own human terms.

Let us know exactly what he said in regard to machines and when (He never used the word technology but it is clear that he meant it.) Much misunderstanding of his position prevails everywhere. But he did not want to be misunderstood; in fact the very clarity of his style leaves no room for misunderstanding. The first unequivocal statement of his position occurs in *Hind Swaraj* or *Indian Home Rule* written originally in Gujarati on the return voyage from London to South Africa in 1908 in answer to the Indian school of violence and its prototype in South Africa. It was first published in the columns of *Indian Opinion of South Africa* in the form of the editor's answers to readers' queries. In this period Gandhi was finding himself through many a personal and a few social experiments. Violence had become the desperate creed of Indian nationalists. He was analysing this creed all the time, digging its base so to say and reaching towards an alternative moral creed. *Hind Swaraj* was the first formulation and bears all the marks of religious conversion. The subsequent history of the book is interesting but not quite relevant here. But it is on record that in January 1921 Gandhi would withdraw nothing except one word of it and that in deference to a lady friend. As Mahadev Desai wrote in his preface to the 1938 edition. Even in 1938 he would alter nothing in the book except perhaps the language in some parts. We will see however that certain alterations were made but they were more in the nature of elaboration in terms of reality e.g. the relative unpreparedness of Indian people for the practice of a higher simplicity and renunciation which he knew to be India's values than as deviations from a fundamental position.

His writings show (letter to a friend quoted in 1938) that his original position was: but on this

between the values of different civilizations. *Hind Swaraj* discusses this issue with eloquence and poses the conflict between Indian values and Western values in pure white and pure black. Many historians and sociologists would be more cautious about India's ancestry about her deliberate wisdom in rejecting machinery, city life and the evils thereof. They would question the latent virtuous assumptions about India's past and her society. They would attribute them mostly to lack of habit of making a virtue of necessity of spiritual values in the Western world of social values prevailing

and new. But here at last was the Indian positing of a felt contrast in the fierce clarity of exaggeration. The exaggeration was similar to that of a rebel slave who would assert with vehemence his own

old age or death as well as ...
 couched in the social terms of civilization which Gandhi defined as good
 conduct with the entire weight on performance of duty and observance of
 morality. The supreme duty was to attain mastery over mind and passions
 in the performance of which we know ourselves that is knowledge accrues
 The performance implied proper use of hands and feet and the process led
 to the limitation of indulgences reduction of wants and simplification of
 life. All these ideas formed a whole pattern of thought beliefs attitude and
 action which placed Indian civilization in sharp opposition to what he some
 times called the Western at other times the European but what was really
 a civilization centred on material values.

His ideas In October 1944 soon

asked (Mahatma vol 2 p 2)

R Are you against all machinery?

G How can I be when I know that even this body is a delicate piece of
 machinery? The spinning wheel itself is a machine a little tooth pick is a
 machine. What I object to is the craze for machinery not machinery as
 such. The craze is for what they call labour saving machinery. Men go
 on saving labour till thousands are without work and thrown on the
 streets to die of starvation. I want to save time and labour not for a fraction
 of mankind but for all. I want the concentration of wealth not in the
 hands of a few but in the hands of all. Today machinery helps a few to
 ride on the backs of millions. The impetus behind it is not the philanthropy
 to save labour but greed. It is against this constitution of things that I am
 fighting with all my might.

R Then you are fighting not against machinery as such but against its
 abuses which are so much in evidence today?

G I would unhesitatingly say yes but I would add that scientific truths
 and discoveries should first cease to be mere instruments of greed. Then
 labourers will not be overworked and machinery instead of becoming a
 hindrance will be a help. I am aiming not at eradication of all machinery
 but limitation.

R When logically argued out that would imply that all complicated power
 driven machinery should go.

G It might have to go but I must make one thing clear. The supreme
 consideration is man. The machine should not tend to keep atrophied the
 limbs of man. For instance I would make intelligent exceptions. Take the
 case of the Singer Sewing Machine.

R But in that case there would have to be a factory for making these
 Singer Sewing Machines and it would have to contain power-driven
 machinery of ordinary type.

G Yes surely. But I am Socialist enough to say that such factories should
 be nationalized or state-controlled. They ought only to be working under
 the most attractive and ideal conditions not for profit, but for the benefit of
 humanity, leaving out the place of greed as the motive. It is an alteration

be explained or removed otherwise. From them one might also infer that the term underdeveloped economy which is the excuse of technical assistance was inappropriate insofar as it confused the co-existence of two different value systems by placing them on the assembly line of historical development in which economic growth being the supreme value was subservient to and dependent only upon technological advance. Perhaps Gandhi was unfair to the European civilization; it may also be that he did not subscribe to the unilinear concept of history. But it is certain that he had other values and his understanding of India at least was unerring. We Indians love to think that Gandhi's views correctly represent the unformulated values of the vast majority of the Indian population towards social changes. They, as he would say, would welcome change on their own human terms.

Let us know exactly what he said in regard to machines and when (He never used the word technology but it is clear that he meant it.) Much misunderstanding of his position prevails everywhere. But he did not want to be misunderstood; in fact the very clarity of his style leaves no room for misunderstanding. The first unequivocal statement of his position occurs in *Hind Swaraj* or *Indian Home Rule* written originally in Gujarati on the return voyage from London to South Africa in 1908 in answer to the Indian school of violence and its prototype in South Africa. It was first published in the columns of *Indian Opinion of South Africa* in the form of the editor's answers to readers' queries. In this period Gandhi was finding himself through many a personal and a few social experiments. Violence had become the desperate creed of Indian nationalists. He was analysing this creed all the time, digging its base so to say, and reaching towards an alt.

Swaraj was the first form.

The subsequent history

But it is on record that

... withdraw nothing except one word of it ... that in deference to a lady friend. As Mahadev Desai wrote in his preface to the 1938 edition. Even in 1938 he would alter nothing in the book except perhaps the language in some parts. We will see however that certain alterations were made but they were more in the nature of elaboration in terms of reality e.g. the relative unpreparedness of Indian people for the practice of higher simplicity and renunciation which he knew to be India's values than as deviations from a fund.

His writings show (letter to ...)

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... the latent virtuous assumptions about India's past and her society. They would attribute them mostly to lack of opportunities and the incurable human habit of making a virtue of necessity. Nor would they fail to detect a high order of spiritual values in the Western European or modern civilization and a low order of social values prevailing in the East in India old and new. But here at last was the Indian positing of a felt contrast in the fierce clarity of exaggeration. The exaggeration was similar to that of a rebel slave who would assert with vehemence his own

ECONOMIC MOTIVATIONS AND STIMULATION

old age or death as was asked in the social terms of civilization which Gandhi defined as good conduct with the entire weight on performance of duty and observance of morality. The supreme duty was to attain mastery over mind and passions in the performance of which we know ourselves that knowledge accrues. The performance implied proper use of hands and feet and the process led to the limitation of indulgences reduction of wants and simplification of life. All these ideas formed a whole pattern of thought beliefs attitude and action which placed Indian civilization in sharp opposition to what he some times called the Western at other times the European but what was really a civilization centred on material values.

His ideas In October 1924 soon

the place of Art in nationalism is asked (*Mahatma* vol 2 p 212)

R. Are you against all machinery?

G. How can I be when I know that even this body is a delicate piece of machinery? The spinning wheel itself is a machine a little tooth pick is a machine. What I object to is the craze for machinery not machinery as such. The craze is for what they call labour saving machinery. Men go to the hands are without work and thrown on the

hands of a few but in the hands of a

The impetus behind it is not the philanthropy

R. Then you are fighting

abuses which are so much in evidence today?

G. I would unhesitatingly say yes but I would add that scientific truths and disciplines should first cease to be mere instruments of greed. Then labourers will not be overworked and machinery instead of becoming a hindrance will be a help. I am aiming not at eradication of all machinery but limitation.

R. When logically argued out that would imply that all complicated power driven machinery should go.

G. It might have to go but I must make one thing clear. The supreme consideration is man. The machine should not tend to keep atrophied the limbs of man. For instance I would make intelligent exceptions. Take the case of the Singer Sewing Machine.

R. But in that case there would have to be a factory for making these Singer Sewing Machines and it would have to contain power-driven machinery of ordinary type.

G. Yes surely. But I am Socialist enough to say that such factories should

in the conditions of labour that I want This mad rush for wealth must cease and the labourer must be assured not only of a living wage but a daily task that is not a mere drudgery The machine will under these conditions be as much a help to the man working it as to the state or the man who owns it The present mad rush will cease and the labourer will work as I have said under attractive and ideal conditions This is but one of the exceptions I have in mind The sewing machine had love at its back The individual is the one supreme consideration The saving of labour of the individual should be the object and honest humanitarian considerations and not greed the motive Therefore replace greed by love and everything will come right

Next morning the interview was continued Ramchandran persisted

R If you make an exception of the Singer Sewing Machine and your spindle where would these exceptions end?

G Just where they cease to help the individual and encroach upon his individuality The machine should not be allowed to cripple the limbs of man

R But I was not thinking just now of the practical side Ideally would you not rule out all machinery? When you except the sewing machine you will have to make exceptions of the bicycle the motor car etc

G No I don't because they do not satisfy any of the primary wants of man Ideally however I would rule out all machinery even as I would reject this very body which is not helpful to salvation and seek the absolute liberation of the soul From that point of view I would reject all machinery but machines will remain because like the body they are inevitable The body itself as I told you is the purest piece of mechanism but if it is a hindrance to the highest flights of the soul it has to be rejected

The quotation is important from many points of view The views expressed in 1924 seem to mark a departure from those of 1908 Gandhiji was a realist in the best sense of the term The seeds that had been sown in the *Hind Swaraj* grew into a plant in the upturned soil of India Gandhiji had started the non-co operation movement and the Khulafat movement but he realized that the people of India were not yet ripe for the supreme renunciation his values demanded Non violence and Truth could not be the bread of the masses That was the bitter lesson of Chauri Chaura (1922) The masses wanted bread and for them God was bread and bread was God A terrible famine raged in Orissa and it haunted his dreams In various cities of India strikes occurred and their lesson was not lost on him His sense of limits a gift which every moral genius must possess came into play And in that process he realized a few historical truths It was clear to him that the impetus behind the large scale use of machinery was profit or greed—which was in the constitution of things as they were and not philanthropy or love that today machinery helps a few to ride on the backs of millions that the labourer must get a living wage and a secure daily task and his labour should not be drudgery and above all that man that is the labourer was the supreme consideration In Gandhiji's view man was the producer the bread worker by hand an idea which he had imbibed early in his career in South Africa from Ruskin's *Unto This Last* which he had translated as *Sarvodaya* Gandhiji be it underlined would have nationalized or state controlled factories of power driven machinery to control the profit and produce for the benefit of humanity love taking the place of greed as the motive At this point

Gandhi presumably believed that the State *was and would be* an agency for transforming greed into a love for humanity though else here he *was less hopeful*. All this appears to be a move away from the uncompromising position taken up in the *Hind Swaraj*. Be that as it may it *was not* a sacrifice of his basic or he called it the ideal position. Ideally however I would rule out all machinery even as I would reject this very body (the purest piece of machinery) which is not helpful to salvation and seek the absolute liberation of the soul. This idea of salvation and absolute liberation from the body is in my view the key note of Gandhian values or Indian values as Gandhi and many others would interpret them. In short Gandhi would have welcomed the natural destruction of machinery and mills together with law courts railways and hospitals but not a violent destruction. By natural he appeared to have meant the potential nature of the scholastics—the nature that sprang from love purity simplicity and flowered in fulfilment and *... .. arose from the actual nature of man in India*.
(1921 A Word of Explanation)

These values it is obvious *... ..* renunciation and non-possessiveness. The Hindu idea of renunciation is not *raiyaga* which is probably a Buddhist concept incorporated into Hinduism. Renunciation in the Hindu sense is *ap ngr ha* (non-possessiveness) of the Geeta as Acharya Vinoba has pointed out more than once in the pages of the *Haryan* (10 April 1949). The concept of love or altruism the good of all as opposed to the hedonistic calculus of the greatest good of the greatest number (*A bibliography* part iv ch viii *To ng India* 9 December 1926) was probably a mixture of Vaishnava Christian and late Buddhist ideas. Whatever its origins it worked very well indeed particularly as a means of propagation of Gandhi's ideas among the masses. In other words the ideal pattern of Hindu values was never forsaken by Gandhi. It was woven round wantlessness. How could technology and machines geared to the production of goods for the satisfaction of wants which created more wants joint wants derived wants the infinite hyperbola of wants be consonant with the pattern of Indian norms. How could such norms square with that matter with Economics grounded as it was on wants and their *... ..* If in the body be the utter sum who was aware of the desire for machinery? machines help not a few to ride on the back of millions the concentrated power and wealth of justice to the labourer as man securing attractive conditions of life for him and of giving him security of employment etc etc would be subsidiary. These latter in Gandhi's opinion ultimately hinged upon non-possessiveness *ap ngr ha* wantlessness subordination of body and bodily wants to the need of the soul's liberation from its physical encasement which *... .. as the end*.

These subsidiary problems however were far from socially insignificant. In the Gandhian view of life they were related to the means. To many educated Indians they were the ends or the primary values. Gandhi had many opportunities of discussing them with those who were more sensitive to the

about a deathlike sameness in the nation. Gandhiji met this argument on the highest level. Taking his cue from the Hindu philosophical conception of oneness, identity or sameness which Sankar had carried to its logical extreme, Gandhiji held that behind a variety of occupations there is an indispensable sameness also of occupation. After inveighing for a while against both by European and Indian manufacturers, he said: "It has its place, it has come to stay. But it must be necessary human labour. An important plough is the hand. But if by some chance one man could plough up by some mechanical invention of his the whole of the land of India and control all the agricultural produce and if the millions had no other occupation they would starve and being idle they would become dunces as many have already become. There is hourly danger of many more being reduced to that unenviable state. I would welcome every improvement in the cottage machine but I know that it is criminal to displace the hand labour by the introduction of power driven spindles unless one is at the same time ready to give millions of farmers some other occupation in their homes." (*Young India* 5 Nov 1925, *Mahatma* vol 2 p 283.) Here was argument on the purely economic level of means that is of employment and unemployment. (Also vol 4 34 p 238-9.) To a modern Western economist it may appear to be old fashioned. He thinks that he has devised excellent measures against various types of unemployment: cyclical, structural, frictional, seasonal and all that, and he is not worried if even under full employment two to five per cent are unemployed. He is not worried by such theories and measures which have been wedded to industry to enable it to survive.

The argument is however historical. To say so long as some other occupation in their homes was not available—and it was not likely to be available in that historical context or in the near future because imperialist exploitation would not allow India to create alternative occupations—Gandhiji would stick to the spinning wheel and be against the displacement of labour by machinery. In other words, India in her present context should have labour intensive economy for the sake of full employment.

Gandhiji was very respectful towards Tagore and as we have seen met the poet's cultural charge with economic arguments. But he was not so soft towards the Indian Communist M. P. Mr. Saklatwala. In his reply to the latter's appeal which he duly published in *Young India*. The differences with Tagore were not vital but with Mr. Saklatwala they were. Gandhiji wrote in *Young India* under the caption "No and Yes":

His facts are fiction and his deductions based upon fiction are necessarily baseless. And where these are true, my whole energy is concentrated upon nullifying their to me poisonous results. I am sorry, but we do stand at opposite poles. There is however one great thing common between us. Both claim to have the good of the country and humanity as our only goal. Though we may for the moment seem to be going in opposite directions, we shall meet some day. I promise to make amends for my error, since I do not recognize it as such.

Having said this in true humility—doubt it—Gandhiji reveals himself in promising absolute non-historical fact. He wrote

do not believe that multiplication of wants and

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appetites and go to the ends of the earth in search of the r satisfaction. If modern civilization stands for all this and I have understood it to do so I call it satanic and with it the present system of government its best exponent

Then follow some sentences which would remind one of the wrath of prophets but with a difference. I would destroy that system today if I had the power. I would use the most deadly weapons if I believed that they would destroy it. I refrain only because the use of such weapons could only perpetuate the system though it may destroy its present administration. Those who seek to destroy men rather than the r manners adopt the latter and become worse than those whom they destroy under the mistaken belief that the manners will die with the men. They do not know the root of the evil

The last paragraph seems to retain its pertinence today in spheres wider than the Indian. The points to be noticed in Gandhiji's reply to Saklatwala's appeal are Gandhiji's firm faith in wantlessness as a cardinal human virtue

as in the 'modern rush' in which he included both the day. We may further note his association of wantlessness with the present government in India. Strictly from the point

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standable that nationalist, anti-socialist, and attitudes should be integrated with the basic values which are or are interpreted to be specific to the culture of the nation. While it is true that in this extract no reference

is made to the necessity of the objection to the modern rush and the argu

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arguments on the basis of excessive population and the distribution of wealth benefit the nation that is to say the welfare of the people. He fell to unemployment again and again to bad health and to the decay of a nation. He categorically stated that

improved that we have neglected our 100,000 villages. We have indeed thought of them but only to the extent of exploiting them. We read thrilling accounts of the glory that was India of the land that was flowing with milk and honey but today it is a land of starving millions. We are sitting in this

fine pandal under a blaze of electric lights but we do not know that we are burning these lights at the expense of the poor. We have no right to use the lights if we forget that we owe these to them. Gandhiji would seldom forget to remind his audience of their responsibility towards the people. The word owe these to them is an English rendering of the Hindu concept of *rina* or debts contracted by every individual at his birth to his ancestors, his gods, sages and to nature, the universe or society, debts which must be duly discharged in the course of existence. Hindu social organization is built on the principle of obligations which Gandhiji insisted on resuscitating in all social and economic spheres of activity, *vide* his concept of rich men holding their riches in trusteeship for the poor. Only in the sphere of political struggle against foreign rule would he allow the exercise of the Western sense of rights and these too hedged in by the sense of social obligations, which was one vital significance of non violence. Gandhiji continued: There is a difference between the civilization of the East—the civilization of India—and that of the West.

Formerly he had contrasted only the modern civilization with the earlier pre technical one and minimized, if not ignored this distinction between the East and the West. However, this again is not quite a shift in position, in fact he was also speaking to the West. And he was only referring to the defects of the tendencies of the Western civilization and not to its inherent nature as Mahadev Desai pointed out in his preface to the 1938 edition of *Hind Swaraj*.

It is not generally realized wherein the difference lies. Our geography is different, our history is different, our ways of life are different. Our continent though vast is a speck on the globe but it is the most thickly populated barring China. Well, the economics and the civilization of a country where the pressure of population on land is greatest (the conjunction and should not be made much of) are and must be different from those of a country where the pressure is the least. Sparsely populated America may have need of the machinery. India may not need it at all. When there are millions upon millions of units of idle labour it is no use thinking of labour saving devices. The reason of our poverty is the extinction of [cottage] industries and our consequent unemployment.

There follow certain figures about the increasing dependence on land as a result of the destruction of cottage industries and the loss of health through the elimination of vitamins in grain after being ground in machines. Gandhiji's context was the first exhibition of Village Industries which he was building up as the base of his constructive programme. He was an anti machinist with a purpose and the language of his argument was suitable to the masses hearing him.

Gandhiji seemed to have been perpetually alive to this problem of unemployment. On 22 October 1937 he inaugurated the Educational Conference at Wardha and developed his ideas of education through handicrafts. It was a new setting for his constructive programme—an integration of living in love, with efficiency and independence, without exploitation, conflict and poverty, and with education of the body and mind. In expounding his thesis he said:

Then take the question of machinery. I think that machinery is not necessary for us at all. We should use khadi (home spun cloth) and therefore we do not require mills. We should try to produce all the necessary cloth in villages and we need not be the slaves of machines. I am afraid by working

ECONOMIC MOTIVATIONS AND STIMULATIONS

with machines we have become machines ourselves having lost all sense of art and handwork. If you still think that we cannot do without machines the scheme (of new education) I have placed before you will be futile. You wish to keep our village alive by means of machines and think of imparting education to the village children through them. Machines will only help in making all the thirty five crores of people unemployed. If you think that machines are really indispensable you must reject the scheme and suggest

(Mahatma vol 4 p 38-9)
 ... has a severe food crisis. Gandhiji offered suggestions on a national ground

... thousands of people will be ruined. The suggestion is that we should solve the food crisis on a large scale in villages (a suggestion which is also a sign of greed). Is it proper to fill one's pockets in this manner at the expense of the poor? Every such machinery puts thousands of hand chakris (grindstones for corn) out of work and takes away employment from thousands of housewives and artisans who make these chakris. Moreover the process is infective and spreads to every village industry. The decay of the latter spells too the decay of art. If it meant the replacement of the old crafts by the new ones one might not have much to say against it. But this is not what is happening. In the thousands of villages where power machinery exists one misses the sweet music in the early morning of the grinders at work. But to come to the main point. What I hold that these power engines are at present being put to wrong use it would be some compensation if these engines in addition to their present use were also used to pump water out of the rivers tanks and wells for irrigation. (Mahatma vol 4 p 71-2)

and a succinct account of the place

what is man knows that to have with equal labour a society based on the living force of truth and non-violence is a society not like a pyramid but like an oceanic circle.

On 31 July 1946 Gandhiji addressed a conference of Ministers of Industries and different states in Poona. There he clarified his conception of village industries and referred to the imbalance between town and village economies and the need for establishing justice in the relation. In that connexion he came to a fairly elaborate explanation of what he meant by machines. Sir

I am ... with ... about the ... has is all ... and therefore no worth ... than ... if ...

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D G Tendulkar the author of *Mahatma* gives the following summary. Ours has been described as the machine age remarked Gandhi because the machine dominates our economy. What is a machine? One may ask. In a sense man is the most wonderful machine in creation. It can neither be duplicated nor copied. He had however used the word not in its wider sense but in the sense of an appliance that tended to displace the human or animal labour instead of supplementing it or merely to increase its efficiency. That was the first differential characteristic of the machine. The second characteristic was that there was no limit to its growth or evolution. It could not be said of the human labour. There was a limit beyond which its capacity or mechanical efficiency could not go. Out of this circumstance arose the third characteristic of the machine. It seemed to be possessed of a will or genius of its own. Machine was antagonistic to man's labour. Thus it tended more to displace man one machine doing the work of a hundred if not a thousand who went to swell the army of unemployed and underemployed not because that was desirable but because that was its law. In America it had perhaps reached the extreme limit. He had been opposed to it not from today but even before 1909 when he was in South Africa surrounded by machines. Their onward march had not only impressed him but had repelled him.

It then dawned upon me that to suppress and exploit the millions the machine was the device par excellence. It had no place in man's economy if as social units all men were to be equal. It is my belief that machine has not added to man's stature and it will not serve the world but disrupt it unless it is put in its proper place. Then I read Ruskin's *Unto This Last*. I saw clearly that if mankind was to progress and to realize the idea of equality and brotherhood it must act on the principle of *Unto This Last*.

In the machine age this principle had no place. Under it the fittest alone survived to the exclusion and at the cost of the weak. But that is not my picture of independence in which there is room even for the weakest observed Gandhi. That requires that we must realize all available human labour before we entertain the idea of employing mechanical power. (*Mahatma* vol 17 p 214 15)

We have traced the development of Gandhi's ideas on machines and on machine civilization and found that despite many concessions to the proper use of machines his values were definitely opposed to those which make for technological civilization and are made by it. By proper he meant positively that which was prompted by love and good for humanity and negatively what did not lead to concentration of wealth in a few hands and inequality to centralization of power to urbanization to unemployment to political economic and social exploitation. These evils which in his view were the characteristics of the modern society with its American apogee were the consequences of the large scale use of machines and they had to be fought with vigour. To that extent he was placing Indian (Eastern) against Western (Euro American modern) values. It was certainly not a statement of the kind from the one that had suzerainty. His minimal aim was to establish co-existence of different social systems on the basis of equality though the prophetic strain that came to him in the course of his experiments with Truth led him to think that the

values he propagated would also be good for the Western world. We will leave it to the Western sociologist to ponder over this issue. An Indian sociologist can only mention that Gandhi's protagonism of Indian values was not a manifestation of the romantic agony of nationalist historians nor a reactionary obscurantist throw back. It is submitted here that the reactionary in India should be viz. an

the more radical you become

At this stage it will be relevant to note the revolutionary elements. Their importance arises from the problem before us that we here must consider the conditions under which technological change can take place without causing the various tensions and frustrations which bring about aggression, violence and war which lead to mental unhealth.

In other words we must ask ourselves whether technology cannot but generate these evils, whether technology should always depend upon wants and their increase and bring about a state of culture in which material wants are king. The inner significance of Gandhi's concessions to the use of machines (proper meaning of the term proper use is that they do

introduced into India without upsetting the conditions are non-possession, *aparigraha*, the oceanic constitution or in terms of self-sufficient villages with their group-

total *aparigraha*. Of these *aparigraha*, non-possession or wantlessness and *stama* or labour alone are selected for discussion. (Gandhi would have emphasized that non-possession in the context of human history has been an

own and not possession of greed or profit is essential to the survival of a Communist as he called himself before Mr. Louis Fischer (*Mahatma* vol. 7 p. 190) but with this difference that his Socialism did not grow out of industrial civilization, technological values, class-conflict or according to the operations of the laws of dialectics. (That it could only be social expression of Truth, non-violence and faith in God is important but not

measure sanctioned by Indian traditions

A second revolutionary element in Gandhi's prescription is the concept of *stama* or manual work. So far as this writer knows *stama* or the value of the dignity of labour was not quite an Indian value. In a hierarchical society

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Gandhi's views have to be carefully studied before any scheme of technical assistance and large scale technological development is initiated. While it is very true that among certain strata and sections of the Indian people these views appear strange service is paid to them and th

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types of work are defined and relegated to different strata on the two assumptions that spiritual work that is pure contemplation is the highest type that each stratum or caste which is fixed by birth has its own *svadharma* (bond religion) the practice of which means fulfilment of personality and the departure of which means destruction of self. But Gandhiji had a different conception of labour. He writes (from *Yeravada Mandir* ch. IX)

The law that to live man must work first came home to me upon reading Tolstoy's writing on bread labour. But even before that I had begun to pay homage to it after reading Ruskin's *Unto This Last*. The divine law that man must earn his bread by labouring with his own hands was first stressed by a Russian writer named T. M. Boudaref. Tolstoy advertised it and gave it wider publicity. In my view the same principle has been set forth in the third chapter of the Gita where we are told that he who eats without offering sacrifice eats stolen food. Sacrifice here can only mean bread labour. There is a world wide conflict between capital and labour and the poor envy the rich. If all worked for their bread distinctions of rank would be obliterated. The rich would still be there but they would deem themselves only trustees of their property and would use it mainly in the public interest. The ideal body labour is agriculture but the next best would be spinning weaving carpentry and smithery and the logical common body labour is scavenging.

Surely this is not Indian value. The dissociation of bodily labour from mental and spiritual labour has had a long history which Gandhiji did not take into account. His attitude towards what is known as the caste system cannot be discussed here. But on the matter of bread labour bringing about economic equality he was anti caste and therefore a revolutionary—almost a Socialist. In other words if the Socialist gave up the usual Western assumption i.e. no high technology, no Socialism and remained content with the use of certain special types of machinery which would not displace labour or exploit human beings for greed or concentrate power then Gandhiji would bless him. If further the Socialist accepted this idea of bread labour and built on the revolutionary content of this view the ending of the separation of physical labour—now the only duty of a whole class of people who form the majority—from mental labour which is now the monopoly of a few.

... the possibility of lowering the impulse and the level of intellectual work by making the intellectual workers work physically for bread without raising the intellectual level and stimulating the impulse of physical workers. But Gandhiji would reply that this could be averted.

Thus the Gandhian conclusion in regard to machines and technology is logical if one accepts the postulates that India has a separate norm of values—with the hidden assumption that values determine conduct—that she has a separate principle of social organization which would be disturbed and even destroyed by large scale use of machinery for greed and profit and that a proper use would presuppose certain attitudes some traditional and others not but all working in alliance and also a type of State that would own and control large machineries if they were indispensable for defined purposes. Otherwise the machineries to be used would be of a special type suitable for removing the drudgery of handicraft and improving its quality if possible. They would operate in the general context of a decentralized economy in close

before any scheme of technological development is initiated. While it is very true that among the sections of the Indian people these views appear strange even though lip-service is paid to them and that such people would want to initiate rapid technological change in the name of economic advance, evolution and progress, it is also clear that an unintelligent injection of technology would so disturb the pattern of human relations that work would cease to be

replaced by efficiency and discipline would require scientific management and that a new instrument of social power would teach docility or break the intransigence of workers all the time keeping greed, profit and more profit in the background beyond the sight of those who are to be immediately benefited by higher wages, better conditions of living, welfare measures and the like (*Social Theory and Social Structure* R. K. Merton p. 318-22)

Well to study the sociology of the technology of its supply. Fortunately by the technological values. They are being acted upon by technology. They are showing healthy, normal reactions to the injection by absenteeism, inattentiveness, a sort of slack attitude towards work, the fact of unpunctuality, the so-called absence of citizenship but unfortunately quite often in accidents of industrial India for the din of they know.

An Indian sociologist cannot thus simply see the power and the possible hidden motivations of a technological advance of those who want to and those who apply it that change is inevitable.

At the proper time in the machinery is unavoidable let it be owned and managed by the State, a new form of State. Judging from experience he cannot share Gandhiji's hope of a trusteeship by the fortunate few. In short the whole problem of

participation in the most common productive processes which are those of agriculture is possible. No has occurred in many industries. In India the production of society is universalist, that is only very few criteria possibly present in any segment of the population without regard to previous social relationships or membership in irrelevant groups are available. In Indian human relations are affective rather than rational and impersonal. The normative system suitable for the industrial mode of production through

ECONOMIC MOTIVATIONS AND STIMULATIONS

Under the culture system the Javanese peasant was forced entrepreneur he had to bear the risk and perform all the labour but under such adverse conditions that he conceived a thorough dislike for the compulsory crops and could not be induced after the termination of the system to continue of his own free will. In another respect also the culture system was a bad demoralizing influence. Diverted from his subsistence farming the peasant had only one aim to get through his imposed duties with the least trouble and exertion. He worked slowly and carelessly, he neglected and destroyed rather than cultivated—when he was given the chance he acquired no new skills merely new vices.

This false conception of his labour obligations on the part of the farmer subject to forced cultivation induced the sugar mill owners to extend their activities from cane crushing to cane raising on fields hired from the native owners. Consequently the part taken by the village people in the production of sugar shrunk considerably although it still had a serious effect on them.

whom therefore in so far as their main source of subsistence. Secondly there was wage labour in the fields as well as in the mill—occasional labour mostly irregular unskilled seasonal at best or in sugar industry itself. For both categories of labour the sole inducement was the prospect of acquiring cash to meet their needs.

acquire cash to meet their needs.

The Western enterprises in Java other than the sugar plantations and the estates in the outer provinces were started without connexion with the culture system and most of them not before the present century. Their beginning coincided with the proposals of 1827. For this reason the prediction that the culture system would be indispensable may be questionable for the reasons which are different in Java and the outer provinces.

In Java the density of the rural population so reduces the field area per farmer that the more extensive methods of cultivation become impracticable whereas when intensive methods are used the increase of production costs jeopardizes the profitability of the market crop. The value of the Western example is recognized by the small native landowners but they find themselves incapable of following it. Moreover an imitation covering hardly one thousandth of the area of the example and attempted without capital differs so widely from the example as to become an original experiment. These experiments were made but remained exceptions more often born of emergency than from the conviction that this change to market crops meant profit. In this way native sugar cane cultivation was undertaken on land which the decrease of irrigation water made useless for the rice crop and the native tea gardens were originally confined to unpoverished land where food crops no longer thrived.

Sometimes and this also applies to the outer provinces there was another impediment to the adoption of plantation crop cultivation. When a crop required further important mechanical manipulation of the raw material to make it marketable the native producer owing to lack of capital technique

or palm oil products

co operation of a Western manufacturer

strength of the two parties was so unequal that there was great danger that the interests of the native supplier of raw materials would suffer This explains why the Netherlands Indian Government as a rule forbade the buying up of native cane by Western sugar mills and why it hedged in by all kinds of protective measures the native tea planters who had to sell their wet leaves to a tea factory

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Under these circumstances it is all too obvious why export crop cultivation in Java never became important and why in the outer provinces only native rubber and coconut production attained any volume Native rubber moreover had to compete with estate rubber and here another difficulty arose which never fails to appear in similar circumstances The large plantations which are amply capitalized and scientifically managed have a production capacity and a productivity many times that of the native gardens and by direct and close contacts they are able to adapt their product to the continually changing demands of the international markets In all these aspects the native producers lag behind Their strength lies in their low production costs in their extreme parsimony which borders on actual neglect Such production methods do not make for quality in the product This low quality standard may not matter so long as the market is a seller's market and the buyer accepts any offer But as soon as the buyer gains the upper hand he raises his standard and becomes selective Then the native product falls short fetches very low prices or becomes unsaleable

It is typical of agriculture that wherever climate and soil conditions are favourable for a certain crop mass cultivation is to be expected because little capital is needed in the production process This mass character of native export crop production may be an advantage when specific natural requirements of the crop restrict its potential area otherwise it easily leads to over production and a fall in prices jeopardizing all profit Further when child labour is profitable as in cotton picking this mass character may lead to a rapid increase of population neutralizing the advantages of the new crop (Egypt)

One other threat to native cultures especially those of perennial crops must be mentioned in connexion with the general neglect and lack of renewal The greater part of the native plantations date from the first world war This means they have reached an age when the replacement of old trees by young ones becomes a necessity But the large majority of the garden owners can no longer afford to abandon for years a large part or the whole of their accustomed revenues they prefer to await the exhaustion of their plantation All these features of native export crop production in Indonesia have resulted in a state of affairs in which the native planters are unable to take over production from the Western estates to oust them or even to compete with them successfully

There seems to be one exception to this rule—native rubber growing in Sumatra and Borneo Here the expansion of native export reduced the part of estate rubber to 28 per cent in 1951 This however was only possible by excessive tapping and an indiscriminating seller's market Now that conditions have changed the native rubber exporters are rapidly losing ground In a single year 1952 the part of estate rubber in the export volume rose from

28 to 40 per cent. Many native planters have returned to food crop growing and I venture to prophesy that this regression in native rubber growing will continue indefinitely and that the Western estates will recapture most of the policy of the Indonesian Government and of the trade case what will take their place?

The relations between the and the rural population have become static incapable of any development. The position of native labour on these large plantations is subordinate and must remain so. For the masses of the Javanese countryside the importance of the estates was the opportunity they offered to earn a modest supplementary money income. The wages were low and remained so in spite of the endeavours of the Netherlands Indian Government in the second half of the thirties to induce the employers to raise wage scale. In general only unskilled and simple labour was asked most cases did not form their

the neighbouring areas. The work supplied the main part of the labour was also of a character of many plantations and plants. The whole organization of the plantations was based on the circumstance that most of the labour came from cheap occasional workers in the fields and gardens there was very little mechanization much task work was done by free groups enabling the employer to restrict his dealings to the foreman of the group the individual labourers had freedom to come and go an elastic wage scale was continually adapted to changing conditions.

In the outer provinces these occasional and irregular labourers were unknown. Here dualism the separation between the capitalist estate or plant and the surrounding pre-capitalist society was much greater. Here the labourers were recruited from Java or China whereas the autochthonous population had only incidental contact with the Western plantation and for the most part benefited by the modernization of their society brought about and paid for by the Westerners and the lively trade and traffic arising from the indirect influence of Western capital on the whole region.

These two aspects of Indonesian society must be considered more closely first. First that in Western economic development in the capitalist production process the labour of the native population was only important for its mass character not for the value of individual performances so that the tight which bound the main body of workers as producers to modern Western business was extremely loose tenuous and weak. Secondly the native population

influence of Western business. This benefit had to compensate the earnings of Western business in the direct remuneration of native manual labour.

In this state of affairs the sovereign Indonesian Government brought

By this policy the economic balance between the various production factors

and commercial ability was unable to start his own plant. This put white sugar or palm oil production entirely beyond his means unless he could obtain the co-operation of a Western manufacturer. But in that case the economic strength of the two parties was so unequal that there was great danger that the interests of the native supplier of raw materials would suffer. This explains why the Netherlands Indian Government as a rule forbade the buying up of native cane by Western sugar mills and why it hedged in by all kinds of protective measures the native tea planters who had to sell their wet leaves to a tea factory.

Under these circumstances it is all too obvious why export crop cultivation in Java never became important and why in the outer provinces only native rubber and coconut production attained any volume. Native rubber moreover had to compete with estate rubber and here another difficulty arose which never fails to appear in similar circumstances. The large plantations which are amply capitalized and scientifically managed have a production capacity and a productivity many times that of the native gardens and by direct and close contacts they are able to adapt their product to the continually changing

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It is typical of agriculture that wherever climate and soil conditions are favourable for a certain crop mass cultivation is to be expected because little capital is needed in the production process. This mass character of native export crop production may be an advantage when specific natural requirements of the crop restrict its potential area; otherwise it easily leads to overproduction and a fall in prices jeopardizing all profit. Further, when child labour is profitable as in cotton picking, this mass character may lead to a rapid increase of population, neutralizing the advantages of the new crop (Egypt).

One other threat to native cultures, especially those of perennial crops, must be mentioned in connexion with the general neglect and lack of renewal. The greater part of the native plantations date from the first world war. This means they have reached an age when the replacement of old trees by young ones becomes a necessity. But the large majority of the garden owners can no longer afford to abandon for years a large part or the whole of their accustomed revenues; they prefer to await the exhaustion of their plantation.

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28 to 40 per cent. Many native planters have returned to food crop growing and I venture to prophesy that this regression in native rubber growing will continue indefinitely and that the Western estates will recapture most of the market unless the policy of the Indonesian Government and of the trade unions compels them to liquidate. But in that case what will take their place? Here I come to the core of my argument.

The relations between the Western estates and the rural population have become static incapable of any development. The position of native labour on these large plantations is subordinate and must remain so. For the masses of the countryside the importance of the estates was the opportunity

to earn money income. The wages were less than those of the Netherlands Indian labourers. The employers to raise the wages was asked to form their own unions and

the neighbourhood of their village.

Workers supplied the main part of the labour was also owing to the static character of many plantations and plants. The whole organization of the plantations was based on the circumstance that most of the labour came from cheap occasional workers in the fields and gardens there was very little mechanization much task work was done by free groups enabling the employer to restrict his dealings to the foreman of the group the individual labourers had freedom to come and go on an elastic wage scale and was continually adapted to changing conditions.

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labourers were recruited from Java or Celebes population had only incidental contact with the Western plantation and for the first time benefited by the modernization of their society brought about and paid for by the Westerners and the lively trade and traffic arising from the indirect influence of Western capital on the whole region.

These two aspects of Indonesian society must be considered more closely. First the fact that in Western economic development the capitalist production process the labour of the native population was only important for its mass character not for the value of individual performances so that the use which bound the main body of workers as producers in modern Western business was extremely loose tenuous and weak. Secondly the native population had a much larger share in Western development as consumers through the benefit derived from the Western superstructure of society a superstructure which was due to the financial strength and the indirect economic influence of Western business. This benefit had to compensate for the shortcomings of Western business in the direct remuneration of native manual labour.

In this state of affairs the veiled Indonesian Government brought about two fundamental changes. It has considerably reduced the significance of the rural population as collaborators in Western production and it has fostered a great increase in the demands of the labourers as consumers. By this policy the economic balance between the various production factors

has been radically disturbed the life of numerous Western enterprises has been jeopardized and the foundation of the modern superstructure of the entire Indonesian society has been undermined or at least severely weakened

These statements require some further explanation. First as to the way the Indonesian Government has encroached upon the value of the population as collaborators as co-producers in Western business. As early as 1948 in the revolutionary period of the Indonesian Republic at Jogjakarta a labour law was promulgated proclaiming a 7 hour working day and a 40-hour working week. Later on 16 official national holidays were proclaimed.

In agriculture where the pace of the labourer cannot be checked or fixed with any degree of precision a 7 hour working day is certainly far too short. An official report on small scale agriculture in the Netherlands declares the normal working day to be 10 standard working hours. In its annual report for the year 1950 the Amsterdam Trading Company states that after the war 70 per cent of its oil palm plantations have been reopened that the oil production from this area has declined to 40 per cent of pre war output but that to obtain this reduced quantity 150 per cent of the pre war labour force was required. This may serve as an illustration of a phenomenon general throughout the business world in Indonesia.

As to the present demands of the labourers in their capacity of consumers I have in mind the wage increases for which constant pressure is exerted by the trade unions. They have convinced the employers syndicates of the necessity of collective labour contracts which *inter alia* bind them to minimum wages for their labourers to be paid partly in cash partly in kind (rice). This minimum wage is 30 times the pre war minimum wage paid to regular adult male labourers. It is supplemented by bonuses premiums and social charges for the most part dictated by the Government.

The official exchange rate of the rupiah has declined to one third of the pre war Indonesian guilder but the real value of the rupiah in the interior is so much lower that this 30-fold minimum wage may indeed be considered as no more than a living wage that is a wage providing a living for a family of husband wife and two children completely dependent on the wage earnings of the bread winner. Before the war the large majority of wage earners were occasional labourers people who as families still found their main living within the village communities supplemented only by earnings on the estate. Now suddenly every one of them male or female has become a regular labourer and in the case of the adult male a bread winner of a family. This has caused a revolutionary change in the labour structure of the Western enterprises and completely upset their business calculations.

From a social point of view there is a still more serious consequence. The employer who has to pay his labourers as regular labourers wants them to behave as such wants them to work six days a week and seven hours a day. He therefore is no longer prepared to allow them to come and leave at their convenience or to form free groups of task workers. The employer has to contract with each worker individually to register every one of them. In this way the Javanese villagers have lost an important for many even the most important source of cash income and the connexion between the Western enterprise and the village household has been broken. The regular estate labourers are proletarians without social standing in the village community. Even if they continue to live in the village they take no part in its life. They

are outsiders. The social dualism the separation between the two domains
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None of these are replaced by Indonesian estates or small native gardens
To Indonesian society their disappearance is a total loss. But the larger
longer concerns who realize that this course of events cannot go on much
longer that Indonesia in the long run cannot do without them that the
present situation is a transition period and who can persuade their share-
holders to foot the bill follow another course. By every means they try to
reduce their unsatisfactory labour force they mechanize. For the very reason
that before the war the abundance of cheap labour checked this policy there
is no doubt in this direction. The labour supply is still super-

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dualism has penetrated too far into the social structure, the
Western estates were to abandon the unequal struggle nothing could be
brought forward to take the place and economic collapse and serious over-
population would threaten. Neither Indonesianization of management staffs
nor nationalization of the principal concerns can help here. Indonesianization
would not alter the dualistic situation or even appease the class rancour of
the traditions. Nationalization is a slogan without real meaning in a country
lacking native capital producing for export and dependent on the vagaries of
foreign economic policy.

The problems implicit in the economic development of Indonesia the
social implications of technical progress in that country cannot be more
clearly elucidated than by comparing them to a contrasting development
in another country. For purposes of comparison, then a brief review of the
course of economic development in the British Protectorate of Uganda follows.

The contrast is not to be explained by the fact that in Uganda a policy of
indirect rule was applied. The same policy was followed much earlier in
Indonesia also. Neither was it of direct importance that Lord Lugard deemed
it necessary to amplify this policy by furthering native industry and attempting
to preserve as far as possible traditional village life rather than leaving the
adult male population to seek wage labour in remote Western estates and

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quickest way was to further export production by Western plantations.
Therefore in Uganda, too, a policy was adopted of promoting white settlement
offering wide areas to settlers and encouraging the population to perform

The foregoing analysis is running in Indonesia was left on of course because it lies on the problem of
the state in the out as analysed in his paper. The mining p... only gula... labourers recruited in J
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For example the Sumatran Trading Company states that after the war 70 per cent of its oil palm plantations have been reopened that the oil production from this area has declined to 40 per cent of pre war output but that to obtain this reduced quantity 150 per cent of the pre war labour force was required. This may serve as an illustration of a phenomenon general throughout the business world in Indonesia.

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The contrast is not to be explained by the fact that in Uganda a policy of indirect rule was applied; the same policy was followed much earlier in Indonesia also. Neither was it of direct importance that Lord Lugard deemed it necessary to amplify this policy by furthering native industry and attempting to preserve as far as possible traditional village life rather than leaving the adult male population to seek wage labour in remote Western estates and plantations. At the outset it formed no part of the British scheme to apply these principles to the Protectorate of Uganda. England needed raw materials for its industries and it was so the British colonies to procure them. The quickest way was to further export production by Western plantations. Therefore in Uganda too a policy was adopted of promoting white settlement. It was a case to settlers and encourage the population to perform

labour services on the newly opened estates and earn in this way the money needed to pay taxes. The spreading of cotton culture among the native population formed no part of the official programme and was readily left to the Anglican Mission which initiated the project.

Therefore in Uganda too the Western estate system would have formed the basis of export crop cultivation but for the accident that the land assigned to the white settlers proved unsuitable for growing cotton and because both the first world war and the world wide depression of the thirties interfered with further experiments with other export crops. Thanks to these adversities native cotton growing got its chance to determine the economic future of the Protectorate. However it must be said in favour of the British administration that it shifted the helm when it saw that native cotton growing promised to become a success. For the estates this change of direction meant new difficulties because from now on the recruitment of workers for the white plantations was no longer backed by the authorities.

It is sometimes pointed out as an advantage of economic development by means of small native export cultures that this welfare policy guarantees a wholesome gradualness. Economic development if properly guided can be integrated into the structure of African society instead of remaining an external disintegrating force (L. Mair *Native Policies* p. 13). This statement seems only partly correct. I am rather inclined to endorse the theory that development from below also may cause a revolutionary change and that in Africa in any case it has done so. The male has replaced the female as principal agricultural production for subsistence has been ousted from the first place by production for the market and for profit. Occupation has become business: the family provider has become entrepreneur, new money needs have been created, with the appearance of import commodities a new type of distributive retail trade has grown up, in short the African's whole world has been transformed and with might and main the authorities seek to awaken a new capitalist mentality in a pre capitalist society. A revolutionary process of this kind cannot be prevented from having a disintegrating influence on communal traditions.

It was undoubtedly a favourable circumstance that the introduction at least of this radical social change was left to a missionary organization. Both its means and its standing permitted only a moderate pace at the start of the movement. This changed when once it was under way the administration interfered and government machinery was switched on. In accordance with the system of indirect rule the tribal chiefs had to serve as intermediaries and the first thing the authorities tried was to awaken the emulation of the chiefs. Look at the Eastern Province otherwise the foremost

albeit in an Eastern

to addressing exhortations and recommendations to the chiefs but they were fully aware that for the chiefs every recommendation was an injunction—an injunction followed all the more readily since the chiefs being also landlords found it to their interest to have their farmers try the new culture.¹

In the same style the chief secretary (by wire) put it up to the people of the Western Province: "Natives to be informed that three courses are open

As ruled these farmers were crop-harvesters but if the crop also had to be delivered to the landlord, in this way the cost of reforming the old forced cultivation system must be

cotton labour for government labour for planters but no attempt is to be made to induce them to choose any one in preference to the others. Only one thing to be made clear that they cannot be permitted to do anything but to themselves or to the state.

1925 p 141 A

that the farmer
to stay at home

... encourage the producer

It is a strange fate for the colonial welfare policy to have the Government assume the role of revolution maker. Or is it not a revolutionary act to supplant by a single rule the pre-capitalist ideal of life repose above all (to do nothing) by the capitalist law of life time is money and work is man's vocation?

Once the profits of the new crop became tangible to the producers further encouragement was unnecessary. The sale of his produce enables [the native cultivator] to buy imported goods and stimulates the desire for individual gain. Once this has been liberated from the control of custom he needs little further inducement to concentrate on export crops and wants more money so as to clear or buy land and his labour (J S Furnivall *Colonial Policy and Practice* p 293)

The two world wars and their aftermath were favourable to native cotton cultivation in Uganda and it spread rapidly. They demonstrated England's dependence on Empire cotton and forced up prices. In 1950 a population of less than 5 million earned an income of more than £30 million from cotton export that is from a crop introduced less than fifty years before in the pioneer cotton area in the Eastern Provinces. The area which in 1910 hardly covered 6000 hectares in that part of Uganda by 1938 had already increased to 250000 hectares. In Buganda the growth of cotton culture was still more striking. It had started later but within a generation it was in the lead.

The rapidity of this penetration of money economy into a pre-capitalist society intensifies the revolutionary character of the change. This revolutionary change necessitated a radical government policy which could however as soon as the first world war was over assume the paternalistic character typical of welfare policies in most colonial countries. In 1922 a valorization policy was applied about the same time plough culture was introduced with cattle as the tractable power during the years of depression and overproduction of cotton other export crops (coffee tobacco etc.) were produced in addition to cotton a licence system was established for buyers and payment in money adopted prices were controlled and regulations passed to protect quality. For the cotton culture especially these government measures were further supplemented by cost free supply of cotton seed interdiction of certain specified methods of sowing harvesting and ginning interdiction of a second planting on the same field in the same year interdiction to stock seeds or govern to prohibit cotton cultivation in specified tracts and to destroy the whole crop without compensation in case of pests.

In the war years of the forties this paternal interference by the Government increased still further. A government monopoly was set up for the buying up of the two main native export crops cotton and coffee and this government agency also acted as single seller to foreign countries. A fixed minimum price was guaranteed to the producers. The surpluses received by the selling agencies were paid into two price stabilization funds which in a few years could put a central million pounds at the disposal of the authorities.

As described above part of the revolutionary government policy was to instil an entirely new conception of labour. But so to remould the African mind is easier said than done. Thus far the average man only sees the new market crop as a source of money income which does not require too much exertion and enables him to make purchases beyond his daily needs. He does not yet feel dependent on these new crops nor does he love their culture as such. If ever the economic situation permits him to acquire the same extra revenue with less labour he would prefer the same income with less exertion to a higher income at the cost of his sweat. Exertion as such has no merit, labour remains a necessary evil, the less necessary the more evil. No one believes work to be the purpose of life, no one has pledged his heart to the cultivation of cotton.

Under these circumstances the task the Government has set itself is to change a people of consumers into a people of producers, into a society which will give its whole attention to performing its part in the production process and to the productivity of its labour, instead of to the question of how to enjoy life to the full, to educate the people to see labour as man's vocation on earth and repose as a preparation for fresh exertions. It may be that this alteration in the conception of life is ultimately unavoidable since without it there remains the danger of irregular production of insufficient care of the crop, decline in quality, exhausting cultivation of adulteration, etc.

Up to the present the Government has succeeded in conjuring the serious symptoms of this threat by its paternal economic policy, which in all probability is not justified and already led to disturbances in 1949. Apparently the Government is going on the theory that when a certain wholesome tradition or custom can be developed these are a sufficient substitute for rational insight and love for the crop in the individual producer.

Nevertheless the consequences of the capitalist change of mentality are bound to appear. Thus the increasing influence of self interest on social and economic activities is one of the first expressions of growing individualism.

A common complaint among the black people is that hospitality has disappeared and instead the travelling man has to pay for food and shelter even with his relatives. (R. C. Thurnwald *Black and White in East Africa* p. 133) Mutual help in the village community is also disappearing. The easy earning of money has become a sport and a game. Even the children became conscious of the charm of making money, boys and girls in Buganda have laid out their own small cotton fields and convert the produce into money for their own use.

A more important consequence of the social trend towards capitalism has been the appearance of the kulak, the rural exploiter. As has been said the new capitalist mentality is by no means a universal phenomenon. Only a few become imbued with it and are thus able to dominate their weaker brethren. They increase their landed property, they change agriculture into a business undertaking based on capital, they enter into crop sharing contracts or farm out their lands, they act as moneylenders and buy up the native market crops, they are traders rather than peasants and they shirk manual labour. They form the capitalist counterpart of the tribal or clan chiefs, whose landed property, wealth and power are not founded on personal qualities but on status and tradition. They are however also gradually usurping the place of the Indians in retail trade. It makes an essential difference whether the agriculturalists they exploit are subsistence farmers or growers of cash crops. In the latter case they do not disturb a closed pre-capitalist household economy.

but rather introduce an element of social differentiation into the agrarian community they have therefore a much more positive social function and may be considered and accepted as pioneers on the road to modern conditions

The authorities have less reason to take action against the kulak because they have found a powerful and efficient weapon for the protection of the ordinary farmer in the co-operative society. It is a promising co-operative movement in Uganda that

organized
had been
purposes but
had been
have
principles

On the other hand the co-operative organization can and should also be used on behalf of the ordinary village people for other than strictly economic purposes in the first place to develop a consciousness of social responsibility and the sense of solidarity with a community. If this succeeds the co-operative society may replace the traditional village or tribal community which is doomed

the democratic

THE RECRUITMENT OF WHITE COLLAR WORKERS IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

B F HOSELTZ

In the discussion of the human problems arising in underdeveloped countries undergoing a process of technological change the question of the formation and training of an industrial labour force stands in the foreground. It is indeed a most important problem especially if a process of relatively rapid industrialization is envisaged and if not merely the acquisition of new manual and technical skills but the entire alteration of the way of life of large masses of the population takes place. Most of the past discussions of the development of an industrial labour force have concentrated on two groups within the new industries: the industrial labourers at the bottom of the scale and the technical elite: the engineers. Some attention has also been given to the problem of how managers concerned with the organizational and business problems of new industries can be trained and in some underdeveloped countries what steps could be taken to induce the development of a class of private entrepreneurs in industry.

The problems which arise in all these areas are complex and differ from one another considerably. The transformation of peasants and primitives into industrial labourers is a task involving masses of people and which affects not merely the place and manner of their daily activity but their entire social

existence¹ The training of engineers and top managers involves fewer individuals but because of the strategic positions which these obtain in an industrializing economy their selection and their most appropriate employment also involve from the viewpoint of the economy as a whole various difficult problems²

With all the attention which has been given to the incentives and motivations which may exist for industrial workers on the one hand and managers entrepreneurs technical leaders and engineers on the other one group has received little attention though in the last resort their successful recruitment and effective co operation is indispensable for a process of industrialization This group is that of the white collar workers In the subsequent paragraphs I propose to suggest a few thoughts on the role which this group may play in a process of industrialization and on some problems which arise

Before entering into a discussion of the problem itself I wish to express two caveats

1 The countries which are commonly designated as underdeveloped exhibit great differences in culture relative level of economic advancement political structure and internal social relations Since my remarks will be couched in general terms some of them may be inapplicable to individual countries In fact it would be impossible to present significant propositions on this (as on almost any other) topic if one were to make sure that they were really applicable to *all* underdeveloped countries Some assertions made in this paper must therefore be interpreted as describing tendencies in some countries a real situation in others and to be of subordinate or no importance for certain others

2 For reasons of space some of the situations described will be schematized to a certain extent I readily admit that such a procedure constitutes a simplification of the real situations but I hope that over simplifications can be avoided and that in spite of some schematization the analysis of at least the core problems will not lose its validity

When we speak of white collar workers we deal with a group of people who in terms of economic position and social ranking exhibit great heterogeneity In most of the theoretical treatments white collar workers as a group are counted among the middle class and I will follow this practice by making use of the classification of the middle class presented by Professor F Marbach³ Marbach distinguishes between the old and the new middle class and further between the self employed and the non self employed members of the middle class Although on the whole there is some overlapping between the old and the self employed on the one hand and the new and the non self employed on the other the two principles of classification yield four easily distinguishable categories In this paper we are concerned only with white collar workers i.e. with members of the non self-employed sector of the middle class And here we may distinguish two groups again one of which corresponds on the whole with Marbach's old and the other with his new middle class

The new non self employed middle class is made up of white-collar workers who perform relatively unskilled labour Although they do not work with

On this problem see Wilbert E. Moore *Industrialization and Labor* New York, 95
See on some aspects of this problem E. Reppe *European Economic Growth* The American Journal
of Economic and Sociology vol. XII a. (October 95)
Frits Marbach *Theory of Multi-Strata* Bern 9 esp. p. 88 ff

their hands their real income in the advanced countries is normally not above and frequently even below that of semi skilled and skilled manual workers. In this group belong the typists, bookkeepers, shipping clerks, filing clerks, and other persons engaged in commercial and industrial establishments and in public service. This group will be designated in this paper as *employees*.

The old non self supporting middle class is made up almost entirely of public officials normally in the higher ranks of the public service. To this group should be added persons engaged in occupations of similar complexity in the service of private firms or individuals. We will designate this group hereinafter as *officials*.

The employees are distinguished from the manual labourers in that they work in an office rather than a workshop or a factory and that their work requires in general a higher degree of literacy than most manual jobs. A clerk and a bookkeeper must have on the whole more education than most manual workers. The employees

are usually paid more than the manual workers. Moreover as a rule the income of officials is considerably higher than that of employees as also of skilled manual workers.

The most characteristic aspect of the economic role of officials is their intermediary position in a bureaucratic hierarchy.¹ This means that they are normally in a position in which they receive general directives from the persons in elite positions within the bureaucratic hierarchy and it is their duty to pass these on to their subordinates. In addition they are responsible for the work of their subordinates and to maintain channels of communication with co-ordinated portions of their bureaucratic hierarchy. The most significant difference between officials and the members of the elite is that only the latter make policy decisions and occupy in governmental hierarchies or in business organizations the positions of ultimate responsibility. As a rule there is also some difference in the level of income and general social ranking between members of the elite and even the highest placed officials.

From the distinctions made it is clear that there exist important differences in the incentives and motivations of employees on the one hand and officials on the other. I shall first briefly consider the former group.

The employees are in the advanced countries the proletarianized portion of the middle class. Their income often remains below that of manual workers and this appears to be a correct reflection of the overall social value of their contribution. The particular jobs which they perform require few specialized skills apart from those acquired by almost all children in school. Whatever skills are needed in addition can usually be learned by a very short training or by some process of on the job training. Moreover since many of the jobs performed by employees are on a low level of technical complexity the human factor can be replaced relatively easily by machines. In other

¹ I shall not distinguish between governmental and private, i. e. business bureaucracies. Although I shall be concerned mostly with public bureaucracies most of what applies to them also applies, mutatis mutandis, to business bureaucracies.

words machines plus high grade engineers can often be substituted for employees—the various types of office equipment from the simple type writer to the most complex Hollerith machine are examples of this. Whether or not and under what conditions such substitutions will take place is a question of relative prices. But the ease with which such substitution can be accomplished is another factor pressing the incomes of employees to a low level.

Compared with this situation in the advanced countries a different situation is likely to persist in many underdeveloped countries at least during the early period of the industrialization process. The differences are due mainly to two factors: the much greater illiteracy rates in underdeveloped countries and the very low prestige that in many of these societies is attributed to manual work which dirties one's hands. (This last factor plays a certain role too in advanced countries.) Some employees endure their economically unenviable position because being a white collar worker gives the illusion to the outside world—and sometimes even to oneself—that one is above the ordinary crowd of common labourers. This has the consequence as Marbach has shown that employees in advanced countries are recruited on the whole from a higher social layer than manual labourers even though the amount and quality of education required for the two types of position are not very different.

In many underdeveloped countries the relative social prestige which attaches to white collar jobs is even greater and that is in close correlation with the relatively greater scarcity of literate persons. For this reason white collar jobs which require few or no advanced skills are in great demand often by people who do not even possess these skills—although they only know how to read and write. This makes the problem of selection difficult and here another characteristic of many developing countries comes in: the partial absence of impersonal market relations and the much greater weight of family and other primary group relationships in these countries.

In practice these factors have the following consequence: lower rank employee positions become available to persons with a minimum degree of literacy. In view of the social prestige of white collar positions as compared with manual labour and because of the relatively greater scarcity of individuals even with a minimum degree of literacy such positions will normally pay higher wages than these of manual workers and most occupations in agriculture. Hence with an increase of the rudiments of literacy there will be a race for these jobs and selection for them will depend to a large extent on personal connections and friendships between applicants and persons in the higher echelons of an administrative organization. It is no secret that in many underdeveloped countries the staffs of certain government offices are composed of relatives or co-villagers and other personal friends of one or several heads of a department or division. It is not necessary to point out that this method of recruitment of even the lowest ranks of a public bureaucracy has many undesirable aspects. It tends to keep out many qualified persons; it places professional relationships within the bureaucratic hierarchy on a non-rational basis; it produces vested almost clannish interests within the public service; and it endangers the principle of promotion within the bureaucracy from the ranks since not effective performance but personal friendship is the decisive criterion. At the same time this system bears the seeds of producing corrupt administrations since every applicant for a position will find it desirable to become a friend of persons with the power of appointment—if necessary by means of gifts or bribes.

of public and socialization lead towns. New administrative functions become necessary called forth by the increased need for speedy and accurate communication and transportation and by the new functions which national provincial and local governments are forced to adopt. No more the drafting into industry of urban population.

Mo cove the drafting into industry of peasants and other persons without urban background requires the increase of various welfare educational and other administrative agencies which normally only central or local governments can provide. All these trends make necessary a large increase of bureaucracy and thus pose a problem in the recruitment of employees as well as officials. In view of the pressures which are likely to arise it is most desirable to found effective community oriented administrations and the ambiguity in the social and economic position of lower rank employees may operate against this objective.

An alternative would be the attempt to use machines for employment.

An alternative would be the attempt to substitute wherever possible machines for employees. But this would lead to the contradictory result that in countries in which labour is cheap labour saving machinery would be employed in occupations where a number of new career opportunities could be created which in the long run would have an important beneficial effect on the economic growth potential of the country. It would have the other unfavorable result that the scarce foreign exchange would have to be used for the purchase of expensive equipment and that the middle and upper ranks of the bureaucracy would be even more heavily overburdened with work and responsibility. And these persons who are in crucial positions are already in short supply. Whatever dangers and inadequacies may lie in the recruitment of employees the chief bottleneck in the building up of administrative bureaucracy is in undeveloped countries is in fact in the lack of trained officials. Many of the problems which we observe in the recruitment of officials also encounter in the building up of a staff of officials.

Many of the problems which we observe in the recruitment of employees are also encountered in the building up of a staff of officials and the expansion of the lower ranks of an administrative organization. The constitution of a bureaucracy is fraught on all levels with analogous problems. But the important differences between inducting employees and officials is that because of the differences in the nature of their respective roles different factors are of chief importance in the case of each of the two groups.

As has been pointed out the peculiarity of the work of officials is that they make decisions. Therefore the selection of officials is of chief importance. But in a bureaucracy the selection of officials is not the only factor of importance. The building up of a staff of officials and the expansion of the lower ranks of an administrative organization are also encountered in the building up of a staff of officials and the expansion of the lower ranks of an administrative organization.

As has been pointed out the peculiarity of the role of officials consists in that they make decisions. They cannot therefore be replaced by machines. But in a well functioning bureaucracy their decisions are not arbitrary however independent they may be made. I do not refer to the fact that the decisions made by any official are limited by the competence of his department and vision, or action but rather that however free he may be and may need to be in some respects he is merely an instrument implementing policies which were not designed by him but imposed upon him. To fill the position of an official properly it is therefore necessary that the holder of such an office be ready to place himself fully at the service of the bureaucratic hierarchy he serves and that he ask himself at every juncture whether his activity is in

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ECONOMIC MOTIVATIONS AND STIMULATIONS

administrative apparatuses of most underdeveloped countries were until recently either manned in their higher positions by non natives or experienced periodic breakdowns.¹ In other words the administrations of native governments or enterprises in many countries of say Latin America or the Middle East, exhibited a degree of inefficiency and instability which was one of the factors accountable for the relative economic backwardness of these countries.

former colonies and the *trusts* in underdeveloped countries under the supervision of the national governments. The growth and extension of native bureaucracies is necessary. These must take over the functions exercised until recently by non natives. In other instances they must modernize themselves and replace their often inefficient and non rational methods of operation by the introduction of the principle of rational action on an impersonal formally egalitarian basis. This process of innovation makes great demands on a new type of manpower and it is not surprising that the recruitment of officials equal to the tasks demanded of them forms a serious bottleneck in the economic development of underdeveloped countries.

In the subsequent paragraphs I shall try to analyse some of the factors which exert an influence on the number and types of persons who become officials in the bureaucracies of underdeveloped countries. This may explain why the shortages exist and how they might be overcome. One important factor is the absence in most underdeveloped countries of well-ordered administrative procedures. Existing bureaucratic procedures are outdated and often derived from the practice of some more advanced country with entirely different conditions. The previous colonial status of some countries and the fact that others though politically independent, were culturally dependent on an alien system retarded the adoption of certain European systems of administrative procedures. These very procedures often make public as well as business bureaucracies in underdeveloped countries top-heavy cumbersome and ill adapted to the needs of the country. Examples of this can be found in the tax and fiscal administrations of many underdeveloped countries but they exist also in other fields.² The most appropriate method to deal with this situation is the substitution of existing administrative procedures by more suitable ones a task in which the United Nations and its specialized agencies may provide considerable assistance.

In addition to the external cumbersome nature of administrative structures which could be relatively easily removed if it were not for a multitude of

¹ On some of the characteristics of the bureaucracies in an *equity* and the *middle* groups and their differences with the modern type of

pursuit of the general policy directives under which he functions. In addition he is charged with doing his work in the most efficient manner possible. Efficiency in this context means something very similar to what economists have in mind when they speak of economizing the attainment of a given goal with a minimum of means.

These limitations ideally impose upon an official a perfectly rational method of action. There is a close analogy between an ideal typical official and an ideal typical entrepreneur. The latter economizes means in order to maximize profit; the former in order to maximize the implementation of whatever policy he is charged to execute. It is no wonder therefore that really efficient bureaucracies exist only in a social framework in which rationality (in Max Weber's sense) has become a widely generalized principle of social action. Weber sums up thus his penetrating discussion of the bureaucracy.

Bureaucratic structure is everywhere a late product of development. The farther we go back in historical development the more typical become forms of government which lack a bureaucracy and officialdom altogether. Bureaucracy has a rational character; it is dominated by rules, purposiveness means objective impersonality. Its origin and growth has had everywhere a revolutionary effect in a special sense, an effect which the advance of rationalism usually produces wherever it occurs. In this process structural for government became annihilated which did not have a rational character.

and without which it is impossible that this kind of rational action, a generalized principle of social action, include at least the following: society must be distributed on the basis of achievement rather than on the basis of a person's status. That is, in order to implement his job effectively an official must select those persons and other means which on the basis of known scientific and technological relations are most efficient. This demands moreover that the exercise of the functions of an official must be democratic in that he disregards in a formal sense special claims of individuals which are not based on objective criteria of achievement or on clearly established legal claims. Moreover, the rationality of an official's actions will normally lead to his making use of whatever specialized skills exist in order to achieve an end. Hence rational bureaucratic activity tends to support and sometimes even to initiate division of labour and specialization. Finally the impersonal quality of the official's purpose requires that he be community oriented, i.e. that he regards his office as a trust which he administers in the interest of the community as a whole rather than as a benefice which leads to his own enrichment or the accumulation of power.

Many of these principles of social action are foreign to the value systems dominant in some underdeveloped countries. Moreover, in some countries the social structure and its maintenance work against the introduction of these principles. Hence the development of effective bureaucracies encounters great obstacles. Indeed, really efficient administrative organizations have been created only in economically advanced countries, the governmental and

Max Weber *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* Tübingen, 1947 vol. II p. 677-8. A more tentative discussion of these interrelations can be found in my essay 'Social Structure and Economic Growth' *Economía Internacional* vol. VI no. 3 (August 1953). See also Eliot J. Levy, 'Some Sources of the Variability of the Structures of Rationalized Societies' those of Highly Industrialized Societies in B. F. Hoselitz ed. *The Progress of Underdeveloped Areas* Chicago 1952.

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conditions. The previous colonial status of some countries and the fact that
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advanced country have caused the adoption of certain European systems of
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better but which in general need considerable overhauling. These very
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vested interests of office holders or other beneficiaries of the system there are factors in the social structure of some countries which make the formation of rationally operating bureaucracies difficult. I refer to the excessive inequalities in social position and resulting from it the quasi feudal character of some underdeveloped societies. At the top of the social pyramid is a small group which has a virtual monopoly of wealth, political power and education—the three main status conferring variables. The officials who are appointed under such a system usually stand in a relation to the political power holders which resembles that of the medieval *ministerales* to their clerical or secular overlords. In other words the officials do not serve the community as a whole but the special interests of a politically powerful group. This has the consequence that not only excessive emphasis is placed on the preservation of the *status quo* at least as far as the distribution of political power and social prestige is concerned but it also tends to keep out of the administration persons who have undoubted objective qualifications but who do not stand in a quasi retainer position to the members of the community's elite. Quite apart from the fact that such bureaucracies are in any case unsatisfactory because recruitment is based not on the principle of achievement but on that of personal status, a class of discontented intellectuals is created who often turn to various radical movements in order to attain positions in which their capacity for political leadership can find some expression. But in the shadow of the division of the world into two great camps the formation of political opposition groups often leads to a repetition of the world conflict between communism and democracy within the underdeveloped country. Although the radical groups are sometimes illegal and may exist only underground they are present nevertheless and impose serious difficulties on the smooth economic progress of the country. Furthermore this very situation makes the introduction of more rational community oriented bureaucracies even more difficult. For as Weber has pointed out this process of rationalization is revolutionary in a certain sense. It has the tendency of reshaping social relations and introducing a principle of formal egalitarianism which the political elite may regard as dangerous to its interests and whose introduction it will therefore attempt to resist. In such countries—and some of the Middle Eastern and Latin American nations belong to this group—the introduction of modern bureaucracies may encounter great difficulties. This will at the same time affect the speed and ease with which an overall process of economic development can be accomplished.

Fortunately the majority of the larger and more important underdeveloped countries do not have quite such rigid social structures. Some rigidities exist there also and they impede the extension of rational impersonally operating administrations. For example Daniel Thorner recently surveyed the prospects of reshaping the village administrations in India through the establishment of village *panchayats*. He found that in most parts of India the *panchayats* have no power whatever and are not likely to obtain it and that in those parts where they are effective they have been built into old established power and social structures reinforcing the caste system where it still exists and a class system based on differential land ownership and wealth where the caste system is weaker. Thorner sums up his observations with the remark that to rebuild village life would require far greater vision, authority and popular support than is commanded by the *panchayats* anywhere in India. To approach the goal of rural economic development through the agency of the

existing village *panchayats* would appear to be an exercise in frustration. In developed countries they have become h impediments to the formation of modern rational units and above all also in the bureaucracies in the business bureaucracies. Yet even there some obstacles still exist which are the lack of adequate training facilities for officials and partly from which prescribe a strong ethic for and loyalty to one's

Although the systems are being re-examined in almost all underdeveloped countries, too great an emphasis on literary historical and narrowly legal training. This is also the case with requirements for positions in the higher ranks of the bureaucracy. The notion that an official is often, even predominantly not a generalist but a specialist in a particular field of knowledge is not yet fully penetrated the public administrations of advanced countries and lags badly behind in underdeveloped countries. One consequence of this fact is that in advanced countries as well as in underdeveloped countries private bureaucracies are often staffed with better qualified and sometimes better educated men than public bureaucracies. In underdeveloped countries where specialized technical professional skills are relatively scarce the loss of many qualified individuals to private enterprise is a serious loss to public service to private enterprises.

dministrat n

A sufficient supply of adequately trained persons for service is in public bureaucracies will only be forthcoming when educational facilities are increased and improved. But here as in so many other instances the underdeveloped countries are in the greatest need of improvement. In some underdeveloped countries there exist excellent universities and a small number of centres of university education abroad. The extension and improvement of these facilities is a high priority in all developing countries. The still high illiteracy rates and the unimproved second and higher levels of education are the most serious fields of development.

ry education and technology in which One can be of nestimable service

Even though provisions for more adequate educational facilities on the secondary level and in special technical fields will have only limited results if traditional values are not developed. There are many of these values of these values with a somewhat different content and interpretation—officials—and they occupy positions similar to those of personal retainers of their superiors. Although this may be acceptable in business bureaucracies in the long run it defeats the effect of the operation of a public administration. But the replacement of this personal tie of service to one superior by the integration of an official

into an impersonal hierarchy is a most difficult process requiring a total re adaptation in thinking and values. It is clear that in order to achieve such a transformation powerful incentives must be present. I can think of only two developments in the societies of underdeveloped countries which may support it. One is the elevation of the prestige and power of officials and the other is the persistence of nationalist sentiments. Neither of these alternatives appears attractive to a person educated in and adhering to the values of Western society. The first tendency seems to increase greatly the danger of creating a managerial class possibly with totalitarian predilections and the second to contribute to a growth of ethnocentrism and rejection of cultural and other influences from abroad which may ultimately endanger the peaceful development of international relations.

But the dilemma may appear greater than it really is. The growth of managerial tendencies in public administrations may be tempered with an enhanced emphasis on popular democratic processes and nationalism may perform a positive function in destroying primary loyalties to a family, tribe or local village group and replacing them by loyalties to the nation as a whole. We should not forget that also in Europe nationalism passed through this positive constructive phase and is responsible in part for the consolidation of the great nations of contemporary Europe. If the underdeveloped countries can achieve the creation of smoothly functioning bureaucracies without giving way to the excesses of managerialism or nationalism—both of which contain the seeds of political and social totalitarianism—they will have made a contribution to socio-political practice in this matter equivalent to any achievement of the already advanced countries.

THE UNSETTLED ATTITUDE OF NEGRO WORKERS IN THE BELGIAN CONGO

A Doucy

PROBLEMS OF VALUES

It is now becoming increasingly evident that the main problem which governments have to face in Africa south of the Sahara is that of Negro manpower. In the Belgian Congo the colonial authorities anxious to meet the requirements of the present economic development and realizing the extent of the problems it involves are doing their best to find a solution. No solution can be satisfactory however unless it is adapted to the mentality of the local population. For the Negro mentality is different from ours: it results from a combination of historical circumstances affecting successive generations and upon which—as Professor Glansdorff points out—are grafted certain particular tendencies which can in most cases be traced to external sources and are of a psychological character.

In the sphere with which we are here concerned the mentality of the

contradiction to the ... authorities ... produce a number ...

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... mental ... can be created ... conditions introduced by the colonial authorities make full ... the old one

And it cannot be confidently asserted that this has been done anywhere in Negro Africa. That is probably why our Western ideas have made ... in the Negro mind. As regards the workers' needs however

Those needs are more numerous and they are also more numerous and remained in their traditional ... and the order and quantity

in which he wants the ... a Western mind ... not been fundamentally transformed so that for

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has left its mark on their ...

After studying the question and making certain experiments I have come ... on that it would be possible on this basis to foster the development of our conception of work. This ... like a filagree through the ...

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AFRICAN WORKER

The African worker must be emphasized is nearly always a migrant. Wilfrid Benson discussing the extent of migration in Africa in an article published in *International Labour Review* in 1939² states that the whole continent ... and that workers are sometimes found to have ...

² With by ... countries here Arab in ... predominant.
V. Benson, 'Some ... International Labour Review
vol. XXXIX no. 1 January 1939.

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ECONOMIC MOTIVATIONS AND STIMULATIONS

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These circumstances arise for instance in the case of

- 1 To obtain the necessary manpower for European industrial and commercial undertakings
- 2 To avoid disturbing the demographic balance of the tribes and consequently the agricultural economy of the territory (having regard to the preceding paragraph)
- 3 To protect the workers when necessary in their relations with employers
- 4 To ensure them against injury and other risks involved in industrial employment.

I shall now attempt to determine the influence exerted by each of the different circumstances which in my opinion affect stability of employment among Africans who work in industry or on plantations in the Belgian Congo

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Congo in 1951 and 1953 on behalf of the
 Institute for Scientific Research in Central Africa.

STABILITY AND PRODUCTIVITY

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in the labour market underwent no change, the number of workers would number about 1.1 million by 1959. At that time the total number of workers was 755,000. A survey made by the General Government in 1950 revealed that even during its initial period the plan would require from 97,000 to 160,000 additional workers. In 1953 the same department stated that there would be no exaggeration in claiming that at that time and in the prevailing circumstances between 1.1 million and 1.2 million African workers were needed. These figures are taken from an official memorandum prepared by the Department of Native Affairs and Manpower of the General Government of the Belgian Congo which was discussed by the Léopoldville Provincial Council in 1952.

This shows that already before a third of the 10-year period has elapsed the need for workers is in excess of the figure of 1.1 million which the authors of the plan had set as the target to be reached at its conclusion. The situation is thus extremely serious—I quote from the department's report—for it cannot be denied that at the present stage of development of the peoples of

wage-earners would represent nearly 39 per cent of the total number of

opportunities. It is also based on African traditions.¹ And the author stresses the fact that these migrations are no merely temporary phenomenon. Most of the workers concerned return home after an absence rarely exceeding two years. The volume of migration is increased by the comparative brevity of the period away from home and sometimes reaches alarming proportions—as for instance in Nyasaland where economic and social development is impossible because every year 140 000 persons out of a population of slightly more than 400 000 go off to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

Another characteristic of the African worker is that he is unskilled. His principal handicap is his complete ignorance of any technique. He cannot do his work efficiently until he has been given some training. Technical training increases his self respect and also the respect in which he is held by others and thus is very important.² Lack of training gives rise to many problems which are all the more difficult to solve because in the territory we are now considering the demand for labour is constantly increasing. Reading the reports of the missions sent out by the governments of various countries to study the economic situation in certain parts of Africa one soon notes that the chief concern of their authors is the shortage of manpower particularly skilled workers.

One mission reporting to the Governments of British East Africa in 1942 pointed out that these territories were confronted by two problems. In the first place they had to overcome a general shortage of skilled workers which was not only impeding normal economic activity but constituted a serious threat to the Government's extensive schemes for developing the mines and for the cultivation of ground nuts.³

In the second place they had to ensure that children on leaving school would regularly enter industry or commerce. The report went on to say that the school system should normally provide a general education to be followed by apprenticeship or by some other form of vocational training organized within the industry or trade concerned, adding that in all the territories under consideration there was a shortage of highly skilled reliable workers capable of working without close and constant supervision.

Similar considerations are put forward in the reports issued in 1947 and 1948 respectively by the Government of Nyasaland⁴ and the Government of Northern Rhodesia.

This lack of trained and qualified Negro workers in Africa south of the Sahara is due to a complex series of sociological factors for which the authorities are obliged to make allowance and which render the problems relating to the employment of labour more complex.

cor

His disappointment is not surprising if he disappoints us by failing to understand the principles of our industrial civilization.

¹ Wilson p. 134

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The information on which this survey is based was obtained partly by Mr. Pierre Feldheim, Director of Research at the Solvay Institute of Sociology and partly by myself during two study trips which I made to the Belgian Congo in 1951 and 1953 on behalf of the University of Brussels and the Institute for Scientific Research in Central Africa.

STABILITY AND PRODUCTIVITY

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wage-earners would represent nearly 39 per cent of the total number of

able bodied men in the population. The entire population would suffer from such a disturbance of the economic balance in this vast territory where industry in the widest sense of the word is still confined to a few isolated areas. Other solutions must therefore be sought. I myself have a preference for those which are based on the assumption that any policy aimed at increasing productivity will have results of the first importance in the underdeveloped areas.

As soon as one begins to examine the problem of the output of Negro workers in Africa one is reminded that the dominating feature of the market is its instability. As I have indicated earlier the Belgian colonial authorities realizing the fundamental importance of this phenomenon have expressed their determination to introduce more stable conditions as one of the goals of the ten year plan.¹ Since the absorption capacity of the home market depends chiefly on the level and stability of Negro incomes the temptation is to try to prevent fluctuations in the labour market by raising wages. The question is whether this is a practical policy and if so how it can best be applied.

Before attempting to answer this question however we should investigate the causes of the instability of the labour market.

Only then will it become possible to contemplate a gradual general reduction in production costs accompanied by a considerable increase in the standard of living.

I shall now turn to the Negro labour market in the Belgian Congo.

ABSENTEEISM

The problem of fluctuations in the labour market might be summed up in the word absenteeism were it not that allowance must also be made for the sometimes decisive influence of the employers' behaviour and of varying circumstances. I mention this last point only by way of reminder.

Absenteeism which is endemic among Negro workers in some parts of the Belgian Congo is the most frequent cause of fluctuations in the labour market. In industry it is among manual labourers that it occurs most frequently. In the plantations it is most often found among workers employed on weeding fruit picking and general maintenance. I shall return later to this point.

Without claiming to give a complete list of the causes of absenteeism I will indicate those which have come to my personal knowledge.

The Influence of Tradition

The influence of tradition is still very strong in the Belgian Congo and makes demands upon the workers to which even those who seem most Europeanized usually submit.

It cannot however be denied that many Negroes go to work in European undertakings simply because they are anxious to escape from the burden of

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Some people may be tempted to say that dowries are often very high; they must represent a very useful means of encouraging the Negro to work. There is some truth in this. But the fact remains that the man is positively plundered by his wife's family and if he belongs to a matrilinear community he will refuse to accept a fixed dowry.

When a man has accepted a dowry, he will refuse to accept a fixed dowry. In the colonies being aware of the prominent part played by the Negro wives usually provide a number of facilities to enable their employees to pay dowries and get married. Some companies have gone so far as to adopt a policy of family stabilization which has often given excellent results (the Union Minière du Haut Katanga has been particularly successful in this respect). I have also come across many instances proving that the Negro woman—a habitual cause of absenteeism and therefore of instability—could also have a valuable stabilizing influence.

Another effect of tradition on the workers is their casual attitude towards employment. A man who leaves his job or is dismissed knows that he will not be able to find another one. This is especially true in the case of the group mentioned above, thus be off hand.

This tug of war between the colony and the worker is coming more and more strenuous.

In the large towns such as Léopoldville and Elizabethville there are signs that economic pressure is becoming stronger than home influences. This was apparent, for instance, towards the end of 1953 when the danger of unemployment which arose in certain branches of activity seemed to have brought about an appreciable change in the attitude of workers towards their jobs. But in working for a European concern, the Negro is still embarking upon an unnatural kind of life and giving up such work still means for him a return to a natural life. Thus as he can find a livelihood in his village he is very seldom placed in the position of a work-shy labourer in Europe.

The Type of Work

Another prominent cause of absenteeism is to be found in the type of work. To begin with it should be mentioned that workers settle down better in industrial undertakings than on the plantations—probably because in the factories they feel they have drawn closer to the European employees that they have surmounted yet another of the barriers separating them from the

Whites whereas on the plantations they feel—as they told me quite frankly—that they are doing nigger work. The proportion of absenteeism varies however from one factory or plantation to another and other things being equal the work itself appears to be the deciding factor.

It has now become a truism to say that in factories the extent to which a worker settles down depends on his degree of skill. In factories too night work is particularly unpopu-
 night shift. On the planta-
 the plants in straight row
 two reasons for this: in th-
 and on the plantations employers have always given it to the weakest and least skilled men—thus bringing the work itself into disrepute, a fact of which the men are keenly aware. On the other hand the teams employed to cut down trees and clear the ground for the enlargement of the plantations show a most satisfactory enthusiasm for their work although it is much the hardest, most dangerous and most exhausting of all types of agricultural labour. This popularity is due to the fact that work of this kind has always been done by men; moreover many Europeans regard forest clearance as one of their finest tasks and this certainly affects their attitude towards the workers they employ. It is equally certain that it creates a desirable psychological atmosphere for the work.

There is another factor which should perhaps not be underestimated. Like most plantation work forest clearance is made up of clearly defined tasks. The African is always anxious to know exactly how much work is expected of him in a particular job and how long it is to take and this cannot always be predicted in other types of agricultural work.

Proximity of Negro Villages

This is a factor which usually has an unfavourable effect upon workers employed on the plantations. In the equatorial province for instance absenteeism is encouraged for various reasons by the proximity of the villages from which the employees come.

The first reason is that their wives often leave the camp and return to the village—because they are summoned back because they are cultivating a plot of land there or because they have some other reason for staying at home. In such cases the worker often leaves his job—either because he wants to see how his wife's crop is coming along or because he feels he ought to keep an eye on her personally! In the Mayumbe district (province of Léopoldville) the proximity of the Negro villages produces this effect chiefly towards the middle of the dry season when the workers go home to repair their huts before the rains begin. On several plantations in the Eastern Province (Stanleyville) the workers go off as soon as they are paid to hand over their money to their families at home.

Several agricultural concerns have realized the extreme importance of this question of proximity and have tried usually with success to reconstruct the entire Negro village on their own concession. In thus replacing the camp which workers rarely like by the village they get rid of one cause of absenteeism.

The problem is more serious in the palm plantations than in the rubber plantations for workers who go away for any of the above reasons can usually

be sure of making up the wages they forfeit by their absence. When they get back to the villa they need only cut the fruits from the palm trees and take them to the marketing station. Even this belongs to the concern of the employer — their produce.

by type of absenteeism
which employers find most annoying is temporary absenteeism which disorganizes the work to an even greater extent than desertion or long absence. And geographical considerations combined with the effect of the regulations governing the recruitment of labour usually lead employers to hire their workers locally.

Proximity of Large Towns

Here the problem is one of abandonment of jobs and general instability of the labour market rather than of absenteeism properly so called. Under the conditions (especially plantations) situated in the neighbourhood of European towns, find that their tendency to move to such places they do this but merely point

out that the attraction exists.

Other Causes of Absenteeism

Under this heading I have listed a number of causes which came to my notice but which are less far-reaching in their effect than those already mentioned.

Gambling In about ten of the plantations I visited gambling was a positive feature — especially in the evening. It is altogether a bad habit, acting the part of a distraction from the games concerned, then it keeps the workers and live very largely at their expense.

Food Supplies In some districts despite the efforts made by the employers and the measures introduced by the authorities food supplies are unsatisfactory. If the workers are given, in kind, the legal rations which form part of their pay the situation is considerably improved. But for some years they have been demanding money instead of rations and in most cases the authorities and the employers have been obliged to give way. If local food supplies are scarce the men go hunting and fishing to obtain extras which they greatly appreciate. The employer very often does much to help them but the urge to improve their diet frequently results nevertheless in their dropping their work for two or three days to go hunting in the bush. This cause of absenteeism is too important to be ignored.

Policy Regarding Breaches of Contract At present penalties are incurred by Negroes who commit a breach of their work contract.

Three decrees are in force in Belgian Congo and in R. and Urundi decree of March 1924 relating to work contracts. Art. 6-5 of the decree dealing with repressive measures for breaches of contract. Art. 6-5 of the decree of April 1933 relating to work contracts for both men and women. Section III of the decree of April 1933 relating to the decree of March 1924 all the provisions of the decree of April 1933 relating to the decree of March 1924 all the provisions of the decree of April 1933 relating to the decree of March 1924.

During the last few years under the influence of the liberal principles advocated by the International Labour Organisation the idea has been gaining ground in Belgium that these penalties should be abolished. The colonial authorities have not so far taken any steps to rescind them but the law courts in the Belgian Congo are adopting an increasingly lenient policy in this respect. The result is—most unfortunately—that the workers are beginning to consider that their contracts cease to be binding from the moment they feel inclined to stop work. This feeling helps to account for the increase of absenteeism in the Belgian Congo—especially as the public prosecutor often refuses to apply the existing regulations anticipating that they will soon be altered.

So far I have dealt with absenteeism as a prominent factor in the instability of the labour market in the Belgian Congo illustrating its extent by a number of examples some of which contribute not only to absenteeism but to permanent withdrawal from employment.

In addition to this factor which in itself would repay further investigation, there are other factors which contribute to the instability of the labour market, *namely inflated wages and lack of vocational training among the workers.*

INFLATED WAGES

During the post war boom in the building trade particularly in the larger towns of the colony contractors began to offer workmen wages and remuneration in kind on a scale which attracted them in large numbers thus disorganizing the labour market. This also led to an extraordinary waste of manpower for as labour was comparatively cheap these contractors hired their workers *en masse* even if they were completely unskilled. This same policy of inflated wages has been adopted to a varying extent in other branches of activity.

LACK OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING

This also helps to unsettle the workers. So far there has been a lack of vocational training in the Belgian Congo and as a result the Negroes from the colonies are not prepared for the expansion of the labour market because of the lack of training.

Many of these men were workers only in name. Apparent vocational training courses were organized for them in the colonies. But the sociological and psychological factors whose persistence was described came into play and were responsible for an increase in the instability of the labour market.

THE BEHAVIOUR OF WHITE WORKERS

Colonial authorities and private employers have tended to employ as few European overseers as possible because of the high cost of maintaining them in the colonies.

obliged to pay them. It is generally agreed however that the overseers have a decisive influence on the attitude of the African workers. Lack of supervision and inadequate technical guidance result in low output and this in its turn unsettles the workers. Matters are often made worse by the employment of insufficiently trained European workers in the lower grades since their behaviour frequently causes the Negroes to give up their jobs.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE AFRICAN
WORKER IN THE GABOON AND THE CONGO

G BALANDIER

The region of the Gaboon and the Middle Congo where between 1948 and 1951 I carried out a survey and took steps to encourage certain practical reforms is one whose economic and social development presents great difficulties. Not that the peoples living in this region are exceptionally backward

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more modern times which gave rise until quite recently to a considerable flow of population towards the trading posts and to fierce competition for monopolies. Instability still characterizes most communities in the Gaboon-Congo region. It has been intensified by colonization which through its need in ecru labour was sponsible for a rush to the towns which it made n attempt to stem—with the result that in the Middle Congo one out of every li inhabitants is now living either temporarily or permanently in a town.

Ec omy developm nt is retarded by what may be called ind genous obstacles These as lre dy expla ned include—in addition to the serious difficulties so liberally provided by natu e itself in the equatorial zone—under population the impermanent character of the local communities and an

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In addition to this factor which in itself would repay further investigation there are others among which I would include *inflated wages* *lack of vocational training among Negro workers* and *the behaviour of white overseers*.

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LACK OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING

This also helps to unsettle the workers. So far there has been no effective organization of vocational training in the Belgian Congo and school trained workers were soon heavily outnumbered by Negroes from the villages who had to be recruited and employed after the war because of the rapid economic expansion.

Many of these men were workers only in name. Apprenticeship and vocational training courses were organized for them in several enterprises. But the sociological and psychological factors whose persistence I have already described came into play and were responsible for an immense amount of disturbance in the labour market.

THE BEHAVIOUR OF WHITE WORKERS

Colonial authorities and private employers in the Belgian Congo recruit as few European overseers as possible because of the high salaries they are

obliged to pay them. It is generally agreed however that the overseers have a decisive influence on the attitude of the African workers. Lack of supervision and inadequate technical guidance result in low output and this in its turn unsettles the workers. Matters are often made worse by the employment of insufficiently trained European workers in the lower grades since their behaviour frequently causes the Negroes to give up their jobs.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE AFRICAN WORKER IN THE GABOON AND THE CONGO

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The region of the Gaboon and the Middle Congo where between 1948 and 1951 I carried out a survey and took steps to encourage certain practical — — — — — development presents great diffi — — — — —

the large national groups of west Africa tasks which now confront them. The difficulty is due rather to geographical and historical causes. This area has an extremely sparse population (hardly more than a million inhabitants); distances are considerable and communications right up to recent years poor while improvements—such as the Congo-Ocean railway—have been very costly. The physical hardships and material difficulties inseparable from life in the equatorial zone have also to be reckoned with. There are only two areas with a comparatively dense population—the Bakongo country in the neighbourhood of Brazzaville (with 12.15 inhabitants per square kilometre) and the Wole Ntem bordering on the Cameroons where Fang peasants have recently established cocoa plantations (over five inhabitants per square kilometre).

Moreover the peoples occupying this territory suffered heavily in former times from the slave trade which reduced the population and led to many tribal wars. They have also felt the repercussions of the trading methods of more modern times which gave rise until quite recently to a considerable flow of population towards the trading posts and to fierce competition for monopolies. Instability still characterizes most communities in the Gaboon Congo region. It has been intensified by colonization which through its need to recruit labour was responsible for a rush to the towns which it made no attempt to stem—with the result that in the Middle Congo one out of every five inhabitants is now living either temporarily or permanently in a town.

Economic development is retarded by what may be called indigenous obstacles. These are already explained include—in addition to the serious difficulties already provided by nature itself in the equatorial zone—under population, the impermanent character of the local communities and an

economic system which has been based since remote times at least so far as the male population is concerned more on barter and the acquisition of commodities for bartering than on agriculture. But the difficulties inherent in the economic activities of colonists must also be taken into account. Until recently barter—conducted through the medium of the *Sociétés* and of a number of middlemen—was the chief occupation in the region. Not until after 1920 was the timber (*okumé*) industry developed on an extensive scale. Mining did not begin until after 1930 when the first important lines of communication were being opened up (one mining company was formed at an earlier date but it soon lapsed into inactivity). It is in the public works enterprises in the logging and mining camps that the villagers—in large numbers and without passing through a transitional stage—gain their first experience of wage earning. These types of work employ a large quantity of labour but provide a minimum of training. This has an inevitable effect on the behaviour of the African worker who emerges from such activities. Any survey of his problems such as is required before practical action can be taken must be based on an understanding of this situation.

In an under populated country where there is a local shortage of manpower (in the neighbourhood of a given industry) coupled with a comparatively high demand there are only three possible methods of supplying requirements—by compulsion (the policy of drafting labour) by calling in help from outside or by introducing technical improvements which has been the tendency for the past ten years. Taking our examples from the Gaboon we will now consider how manpower problems have affected village communities by disturbing their demographic structure contributed towards the growth of a proletariat and given rise to a policy of direct or indirect compulsion which has been maintained over a long period.

Until the present day when the whole process is being mechanized the timber industry required from 20 000 to 30 000 workers known as hired hands. This demand was made upon a country with only 420 000 inhabitants where manpower was needed for other purposes as well. A rough estimate based on the age groups generally recruited—men between the ages of 20 and 40—will show that this number of workers represents the total number of males in that age group in a population of 150 000 to 180 000. Over 40 per cent of the population of the Gaboon was thus affected by the demands of the lumber camps. This figure gives some idea of the contribution provided by communities outside the area of the industry.

The local authorities were quick to realize the demographic and social consequences of this policy which adversely affected the inhabitants of the Gaboon without satisfying the requirements of the contractors. The annual report for 1928 states that much remains to be done in order to compensate for the decrease in the native population which has resulted from the large scale recruitment of labour. It refers to the grave consequences of this emigration saying that family life is completely disorganized when the grown men leave their villages to work in industries on the coast. In addition to all this there were growing up alongside these industries so-called villages *de vagabonds* (shanty towns) the spread of which was contributing to the growth of a very unstable proletariat.

Furthermore the voracious demands of the timber industry are directed almost entirely towards unskilled labour. The villagers are uprooted without being permanently settled in a new sphere of activity and without receiving

any training. As recently as 1950 according to figures published by the
 of Labour more than 80 per cent of the labour force in the
 only 19 per cent so-called skilled

A further example is the administrative area of Ngounou (Gaboon) which is both a
 poorer and an industrial zone. In 1950 the total number of wage earners
 employed in the mines and lumber camps of this area amounted to 23 per
 cent of the adult male population over 15 years of age while during the
 previous ten years nearly 18 000 men had left the district to work elsewhere.
 This illustrates the high proportion of wage earners in the region and the
 in terms of male population to regions which abide by the traditional
 conditions and incentives can be under

available to him in this spirit.
 southern part of French Equatorial Africa— which were confirmed by my
 colleague G. Sautter the geographer—there is every reason to suppose that
 jungle enterprises find great difficulty in keeping their workers—especially
 since the introduction of the new laws of 1946 which by recognizing the
 principle of freedom of employment have diminished the possibility of
 recourse to coercion. It should be added that the social welfare measures
 adopted by certain agricultural and mining undertakings in the Middle
 Congo have done little to reduce this tendency to drift. Once uprooted
 the peasant makes his way by gradual stages through one industrial job after
 another towards one of the big urban centres. It is to these therefore that a
 considerable part of this survey will be devoted. They undoubtedly attract
 like a magnet. For this purpose I shall draw upon the results of my survey of
 the Black Brazavilles by which I mean the African towns of Poto-Poto,
 Wenzé and Boko, bordering on the white town.

Let us consider the situation of the wage earner in these towns.

The two main criticisms suggested by a perusal of the Inspectorate of
 Labour's reports are that the labour market is in a state of continual flux—the
 comparative stability referred to above characterizes the urban population
 but is not effected in urban business enterprises—and that skilled workers
 are very rare. There is incidentally an inescapable connexion between
 these two facts.

The state of flux is due to the very nature of salaried employment in Africa
 and to the particular types of economy which exist in this region. The Negro
 is attracted to money by the rapid
 and by the necessity of
 as his financial require
 ments are becoming more and more numerous. In the towns the worker's
 chief incentive is the desire to obtain the best paid work available and to this
 end the more ambitious go to the Belgian Congo to get some type of special

A survey carried out during my visit to the Congo and the Gabon, from 1947 to 1950.

comparative stability in this class of employment. Many prefer not to take permanent jobs; they hope to get back to their villages for varying periods or to establish themselves in some form of commercial activity which is not only profitable but satisfies their need of freedom. This is another cause of mobility originating in the system of barter which was for a long time the dominant feature of the local economy. It emphasizes the fundamental weakness of a labour market which is in itself precarious and subject to fluctuation because it is governed by purely external circumstances.

The reaction of workers to the reforms introduced since 1945 is significant. The report drawn up in 1947 by the General Inspectorate of Labour stresses the following factors: insufficient attraction of salaried work because the advantages it offers are regarded as inadequate compared with the effort involved and the profits which accrue; refusal to subscribe to long term engagements which are governed by arbitrary contracts. Here the report explains that in urban centres the tendency to accept employment only for brief periods developed at a much earlier date. It is due to the fact that in such places workers were and still are drawn from a large floating population difficult to supervise and on the whole reluctant to accept regular long term work. Employers thus became accustomed to hiring manual labourers on a day to day basis. Skilled workers though tending to remain longer in their jobs have always objected to signing long term contracts which offered them no appreciable advantages in exchange for their independence. This document calls attention to the role of urban centres as reserves of manpower and the failure of the workers to adapt themselves to town life and steady employment—a failure resulting from the conditions of that employment.

Surveys conducted among workers at Brazzaville show that about 50 per cent of them would like to change their jobs—with the exception of the shopkeepers and fishermen who are satisfied with their comparatively high profits. This desire springs from the hope of finding employment which will enable them to live better or which will confer a certain prestige or by the wish to have several strings to their bow and thus stand a better chance in periods of depression. During the survey I carried out in co-operation with various technical departments it was found that manual labour was regarded by almost all workers as the worst because it meant hard work for the lowest wage and earned no esteem for the worker. This sheds an interesting light on the problem of the influence of local conditions on the choice of employment. The most attractive professions are those involving the new techniques introduced by Europeans—civil service and teaching (clerk, schoolmaster, health (nurse, doctor, laboratory assistant), mechanization (chauffeur, tractor driver, mechanic, etc.). And these being the fields in which the whites have proved themselves to be superior and in which they predominate are all the more alluring since they seem to be reserved for a privileged minority. This fact is mentioned in the official reports. Experience has shown that Negroes find a unique attraction in machines—to such an extent that they lose interest in other activities of outstanding importance such as building or carpentry. Moreover the first observations made in various parts of Africa go to show that Negro workers are very efficient in dealing with machines.

For a long time it was maintained that progressive Africans were interested only in white-collar jobs. This was true only when office work was the sole alternative to domestic service or manual labour—in which circumstances it was natural that they should prefer it.

These inclinations are hard to satisfy under the present economic and social system. In the course of the survey already mentioned many of those questioned admitted that they had not been able to get other work or learn any other job or go to school. An analysis of wage earning in the Middle Congo where the towns of Brazzaville and Pointe Noire provide the majority of the statistics serves to illustrate this point: domestic servants 45 per cent clerical workers 75 per cent technicians and skilled labourers 255 per cent unskilled labourers 625 per cent.

To these particulars should be added the fact that salaried employees in the management and supervision category make up less than 1 per cent of the total of African workmen and that like many of the clerical workers they are often foreigners.

All this points to what is described in official parlance as an excessive question of vocational training and what attempts have been made to supply in part by the information given above concerning the economic situation in this part of Central Africa. Owing to the lack of industrial equipment and the prevalence until recent years of the system of barter such a demand hardly existed until 1945 when the so-called ten year plan was put into operation. As for the training of skilled personnel the reports drawn up during the emergency period which followed that date refer with some bitterness to the negligence shown by many employers during the past few years in training and supervising their workmen.² In connexion with this remark, it should be remembered that technical training whether government-organized or in private schools is on a sound footing at Brazzaville, the technical school of its kind and except for the apparent cessation of its existence—which had 266 pupils in 1950-51—it is the largest. In 1950-51 there were 190 pupils divided among the three sections (industrial, technical and commercial) of which the school has consisted since 1946. The future prospects of these pupils vary considerably according to whether they enter government or private employment. Figures issued by the Inspectorate of Labour show that in the former case they receive much higher salaries (7 000 fr. as against 3 000 fr. in 1949-50) together with special allowances and have good prospects. The contrast is in the report, gives rise to grave dissatisfaction, which may result in aversion for manual work. This remark is illuminating the existing enterprises have as yet no need for highly skilled workers. Only the building trade and the public works undertakings have a great need of specialists at the moment to meet the demands of the plan. This accounts for the eight month intensive vocational training courses offered by the four industrial sections (masonry and bricklaying, reinforced concrete, timber

Inspection Générale du Travail, Rapport Annuel 1950-51
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Inspection Générale du Travail, Rapport A n° 947 Ch. par le Comité National de l'Emploi
Inspection Générale du Travail, Rapport A n° 949 Ann. ex.
Publication des possibilités d'industrialisation en Afrique
Institut London.

to be found in the market to which they have access. This

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appreciable rise in salary may lead to a higher output. One undertaking which hires casual labour has to work sites on one of which it pays the legal wage rate while on the other it offers from 10 to 25 per cent above the legal rates. Output is notably higher in the latter case and the difference exceeds 5 per cent. No appreciable improvement in output can be expected without greater security for the worker and present insecurity is due not only to the state of flux in the labour market but also to the low purchasing power of money and the lack of an adequate welfare service.

Added to all this it should be observed that the bonds created by teamwork are still very fragile and are often broken by long standing antagonisms based on ethnical factors. This instability is due in great part to the preference for short term employment the recent origin and doubtful duration of many undertakings, and the high proportion of new citizens in the towns. From the

fact that the population shows no such groups are being kept in the case of the railway which incidentally has helped work as such and has led to a rent among them—the chief are widely dispersed and exerted by the trade union movement (suspect first as being a type introduced by the colonizing power and later divided against itself by individualistic tendencies) are significant.

It is not enough to consider only those difficulties which arise from the peculiar features of the wage system and the modernised sector of economy in an underdeveloped country. Cultural conditions must also be taken into account—and anthropologists have been active in investigating them. Economic progress among African Negroes may be seriously impeded by the persistence of certain types of behaviour or of methods of organization which are not equally adequate.

maladjustment which is due to the wealth. The social structure of this nation being more regarded than constituted authority for instance a rich man (*nkama kuma*) enjoys so much respect that strangers are apt to take him for the local chief. But wealth here consists chiefly of wives (a local proverb says: Our wives are our real wealth) and of goods locked up in chests which may in a sense be considered as potential wives since they help to make up the dowry. A good deal of the tribal income undoubtedly comes into circulation in the first place in the form of dowries and these are governed by local fluctuations in prices. Now that money is being earned by an increasing number of individuals competition for dowries are becoming more and more numerous. Once the system under which wealth and women were kept in circulation has been thus disturbed it causes more discontent and less satisfaction. However it still remains as on young Fang write puts it the starting point and the goal of

and which owes to
of the present post war period
Further proof that vocational training has been neglected
numerous cases of casual apprenticeship where boys go to some older worker
who may be only semi skilled to receive a smattering of instruction for which
a high payment is often asked This practice exists among carpenters brick
layers cobblers tailors chauffeurs and even typists But it is the chauffeurs
who find it the most profitable because of the attraction exerted by their
work—which entails handling a machine and dealing with travellers and
goods and offers the possibility of taking on many apprentices

In such circumstances it is naturally difficult to assess the workers output or
the quality of their work The Inspectorate of Labour describes the situation
as characterized by lack of diligence great changeability and an average
output which is usually much below that of a European worker in the same
type of employment The report at once goes on to say however that
this cannot be due only to physiological causes It admits that the workers
are insufficiently prepared for their tasks makes a brief reference to the effect
upon them of having left their familiar surroundings which in the majority
of cases is a very recent event and states that the African worker is unfamiliar
with the technical methods and the tools used by his European colleagues and
he is not accustomed by tradition to work to a time table This latter
observation like all statements concerning the output of Negro workers
points to the need for certain specific investigations—an example of which
was provided by Dr Ombredane in the Belgian Congo when he called for
a comparison between incentives in familiar surroundings and surroundings
where white influence predominates His report draws attention to funda-
mental points of contrast Contrary to the practice in familiar surroundings
the wage we offer the Negro depends on his output in a job which tends to be
continuous for fixed intervals which is organized imposed upon him and
supervised by others and is often so fragmentary and ant like that its ultimate
value is hardly apparent to those who do it

Dr Ombredane also emphasizes that the African worker remains alien to
the task imposed upon him and to the undertaking which makes use of his
services he is seldom a permanent part of the undertaking for which he
works in most cases he remains an alien and unstable element This absence
of interest accounts for the lack of diligence of which employers complain
and which is even more marked among manual labourers than among skilled
workers At Brazzaville according to a very rough estimate absenteeism
varies from 8 to 12 per cent—a very high percentage

In view of all these unfavourable circumstances some of which must be
attributed to unfamiliar surroundings and the rest to a backward economic
system the question of the incentive provided by wages becomes important
The Inspectorate of Labour's reports indicate that in the great majority of
cases increased output has little effect on wages and that furthermore
workers usually have but slight interest in receiving better pay as they can

helps to strengthen the bonds of fellowship the importance of which has already been indicated. Mr H. Labouret emphasizes the fact that urban sedentary workers have (thus) brought with them to the towns those sentiments of fellowship and interdependence which are highly developed in most local communities.

It is interesting to note the changes resulting from this transference to town which has modified losing its solemn and

have lost much of the religiousness of the establishment of friendly business relations between former clerics. Late they developed into a kind of mutual assistance among planters to raise sums for capital expenditure. This type of *temo* is widespread in a number of Bakongo and Basongos villages and in some cases is not unlike a commercial partnership. Some of the younger Bakongo men are now considering — *to turn the temo into a co-operative society*. All this

assurances and—still more important—the work which inspires confidence and involves the partners in commitments which they clearly understand.

It is not possible to consider the problem of economic motivations and its light of its psychological and cultural to be defined to an ever increasing a thorough investigation which can only be undertaken in the knowledge of the economic conditions resulting from European interference and after a precise assessment of the present state of the society to which the African worker belongs. No full description of the impediments and adaptations which are affecting the economic activity of the Negroes can be provided without a comprehensive survey of that society and the anthropological method is of great value here since it deals with the question in all its aspects. The need for such an approach is evident—in African Negro communities everything may be said to hinge on economics and religion.

Moreover the need for a comprehensive investigation covering all the subjects concerned is increased by the fact that indissoluble bonds exist between the traditional and modern environments each of which reacts on the other. This gives rise to a further problem which cannot be considered here—how is the transition to be made from this comprehensive study—dealing with subjects not all equally susceptible of generalization—to the advancing of any really significant theory?

This is indicated in the prehistory of two leaders of the *temo* each of whom collect contributions from on of the 'wise' method (which till now whorly in some villages) and by the fact the contributions are brought to the market place, the official scene of reconciliations, to be handed over

Fang economy This tips the scales in a way which discourages the economic activity of the young men who are the first to suffer from the situation The resultant lack of typical of a society where the production of human beings (the size or by alliance) as person controls either directly or indirectly

A second type of maladjustment occurs because of the authority of an alder over a younger brother etc) are often exerted in such a way as to bring about the economic exploitation of the dominated person The same applies to traditional rights over women which where they are maintained give scope for blackmailing the husband with perpetual requests for presents Families (in the widest sense of the word) and associates invoke tradition to justify their claim to a considerable proportion of an individual's income Economic activity is of course discouraged rather than stimulated by this commercialization of social relationships

These are only two typical examples of unfavourable factors But it should be remembered that favourable factors exist as well Reference to traditional customs may bring to light methods of organization which can be adapted without great difficulty to the new economic conditions This has been the case with the *Ai temo* evolved by the Ba kongo the practical value of which has been proved by the many services it has rendered I should like therefore to give a somewhat detailed description of this type of economic organization which is known chiefly as a savings association

The *muwa a temo* members of such an association vary in number from the 3 to 4 needed to form a little *temo* to the 10 to 20 of a big *temo* they all pay in an equal sum the amount of which and the frequency of the payments (fortnightly or monthly) are fixed in the light of their financial position and their aims Workers earning an average wage usually organize 500-franc or 1 000-franc *temos* to be paid in at the end of each month while tradesmen and certain government employees manage to make deposits amounting to several thousand francs Strict discipline is maintained fines are imposed for delay a cannot pay his contribution he must either find someone

The c purchasing power than the money lenders by a system of mutual assistance and to pay into debt in order to keep up his contributions and has to use his share when he receives it to pay his debts The preliminary condition for the establishment of such an association is that the prospective members all need to build up a capital sum within a relatively short period—to put the finishing touches to a dowry pay for a fence build or repair a hut etc Members must all be of the same tribe (the association is confined to natives of the Ba kongo) and there must be a certain affinity between them so that they trust one another According to tradition the member who receives all the contributions must provide the palm wine which is drunk by the entire company in token of the sacred nature of the pledges given and of the alliance into which they have entered This attempt to adapt tradition to the new economic circumstances

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POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF RECENT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS AMONG THE ESKIMOS OF THULE

J MALAURIE

Until 1951 the polar Eskimos living in the region of Thule on the north west coast of Greenland between latitudes 76 N and 79 N offered an interesting example of an archaic and comparatively isolated community—a surviving fragment of the past as it were. The recent establishment of an American military base in the very heart of this tribe's territory has created a situation the results of which merit investigation more especially as the future of the community is uncertain.

I spent over a year among the Thule Eskimos making a survey from a purely geographical point of view and by travelling a great deal in the region collected much interesting information regarding means of subsistence, family incomes, the psychology of the Eskimo compared with that of the Greenlanders and vital statistics. But the conclusions to be drawn apply of course only to that particular area. Thule is undoubtedly an extreme case in which physical factors are of decisive importance. Since the Eskimos live on the outskirts of the inhabited world leading a necessarily precarious existence their scope for adaptation is small and their creative capacity reduced to a minimum. I have no intention therefore of suggesting that these conclusions are universally valid; they apply only within the Arctic Circle and to a certain part of that region.

It has long been realized that a problem arises when a primitive society is introduced to our forms of civilization. But the possible solutions of that problem have not always been very clearly described. In any case a purely sociological approach to the question of contact and interaction between human communities differing in technological structure would lead us far astray if it were not preceded by a geographical study of the area concerned. An economic assessment of the situation and of ways in which it can be exploited has to be drawn up and it may be thought desirable to attempt a geographical or one might say, ecological classification in preference to any other. Regional divisions are in the first place a matter of topology and civilization results in the first place from acclimatization in some particular spot. Since the real needs of the Thule group are primarily material ones and since their satisfaction is a prior condition of any social or cultural progress this report does not deal with such social religious or political phenomena as might be engendered by planned development. Such phenomena must of course be foreseen and if given their rightful place in the general system they might lead to appreciable modification of the arguments here set forth.

The small tribe of polar Eskimos (it has only 302 members) in the most northern of all human communities is cut off from southern Greenland by Melville Bay and from Baffin Island and Fiesmere Island by Lancaster Sound, Jones Sound and Smith Sound. In 1950 it was living in almost complete isolation from the rest of the world.

Range of movement is restricted and sustained contact with neighbouring

countries prevented by variations in the condition of the ice due to the warmth of the Arctic waters. This primitive civilization has seldom in the course of its history been able to enjoy the stimulating and enriching results of contact with peoples of differing culture. These Eskimos come in all probability from the south west (Baffin Island). Recent studies devoted to them—and in particular to their music¹—suggest that they are of American not of Paleo-Asiatic origin and that at some fairly remote period they were in touch with the Red Indians. In all likelihood these northern nomads were settled on the coast of Smith Sound by the twelfth or at latest the thirteenth century if not before the year 1000. At a very early stage the route by which all Eskimos migrating

As is to be expected at this time with three months of darkness during the winter and only three months (June, July and August) with an average temperature above zero centigrade. The population is semi-nomadic and has retained its traditional economic system which was for a long period entirely self-sufficient. This is based on hunting and is closely linked with local resources—walrus seal fox, an occasional bear narwhal (these last are gradually disappearing). It might thus be supposed that their margin of existence is narrow but this is not the case. They follow a system of semi-stocking and planned economy and as they are few and their needs are small the margin is quite adequate. Though it is difficult to estimate how many people could subsist on the available resources it seems not unreasonable to estimate that if the standard of living remained low and continued to be strictly regulated the population could be

level which is much higher than in the northern regions of Upernivik and Umanak, who have a similar economic system. This is due to certain hydrographic and climatic conditions. Moreover in such a thinly populated area hunting becomes really profitable. And thinly populated it certainly is—with only 1 inhabitant per kilometre of coastline (1923) as against 0.51 per kilometre for the whole inhabited part of Greenland and 0.89² for Julianehaab the largest colony on the west coast.

Thanks to all these different factors the colony of Thule is one of the most flourishing of Eskimo communities. This prosperity is reflected in its finances. During a single year (March 1950 to March 1951) the sale of skins and products at the trading posts brought in 75,748 kroner³ unequally divided between 70 to 75 families. Until recently the Thule was one of the few settlements of Eskimo hunters in Greenland if not in the whole of the Arctic whose budget showed a large credit balance.

Before entering upon a description of the way of life of the Thule Eskimos it will perhaps be advisable to give a few dates. The tribe was discovered in 1818 by John Ross but had no prolonged or formal relations with the outer

Ch. Lötter, 'Über die Sprache der Süd-Grönländer', *Medd. Om Grønland* nr 3, Copenhagen, 1855.
K. B. Rasmussen, *Grønland*, Copenhagen, 1912.
On the Arctic Circle, *Grønland*, 1912.

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and vi. The conclusions to be drawn apply of course only to that particular area. Thule is undoubtedly an extreme case in which physical factors are of decisive importance. Since the Eskimos live on the outskirts of the inhabited world leading a necessarily precarious existence their scope for adaptation is small and their creative capacity reduced to a minimum. I have no intention therefore of suggesting that these conclusions are universally valid; they apply only within the Arctic Circle and to a certain part of that region.

It has long been realized that a problem arises when a primitive society is introduced to our forms of civilization. But the possible solutions of that problem have not always been very clearly described. In any case a purely sociological approach to the question of contact and interaction between human communities differing in technological structure would lead us far astray if it were not preceded by a geographical study of the area concerned. An economic assessment of the situation and of ways in which it can be exploited has to be drawn up and it may be thought desirable to attempt a geographical or one might say ecological classification in preference to any other. Regional divisions are in the first place a matter of topology and a civilization results in the first place from acclimatization in some particular spot. Since the real needs of the Thule group are primarily material ones and since their satisfaction is a prior condition of any social or cultural progress this report does not deal with such social, religious or political phenomena as might be engendered by planned development. Such phenomena must of course be foreseen and if given their rightful place in the general system they might lead to appreciable modification of the arguments here set forth.

The small tribe of polar Eskimos (it has only 300 members) in the most northern of all human communities is cut off from southern Greenland by Melville Bay and from Baffin Island and Ellesmere Island by Lancaster Sound, Jones Sound and Smith Sound. In 1950 it was living in almost complete isolation from the rest of the world.

Range of movement is restricted and sustained contact with neighbouring

population is insured by its maintenance at a level somewhere between the biological minimum and the economic maximum. If it falls below the biological minimum, degeneracy sets in and the birth rate declines to vanishing point. If it rises above the economic maximum there is famine unless the protective state intervenes.

The Eskimos have for centuries lived their existence in a well-established balance between local resources and their own minimum requirements. For some time past in the arctic region this balance has been disturbed—the

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partly because of the natural increase in the population and partly because of the rise in the standard of living. For since they came into contact with Europeans the Eskimos have introduced gradual changes in their diet (coffee, tea and tobacco) and in their skins and reindeer hides, wood, fuel, oils along the road to civilization they are becoming more exacting and are no longer to be satisfied with their local resources alone. It is not improbable that in these economic circumstances the population will rise above the safe maximum within the fairly near future. If fresh local activities cannot be developed to supplement the traditional economy the region will soon be overpopulated in the Malthusian sense of the term. As the hunting grounds cannot be indefinitely extended and it is impossible to introduce any activities based on further exploitation of animal life such as whale hunting or cod fishing it is already open to speculation whether the future of this kindful of human beings does not depend in the last resort—as history has shown in the case of the inhabitants of other barren regions—upon migration to the more fertile sub-arctic borderlands.

The Danish Government is already faced with a similar problem on the west coast of Greenland. Owing to the rise in the temperature of the Baffin Sea, which has caused the seal to migrate, the authorities have encouraged the Greenlanders to transform their manner of life whenever the supply of game is judged to have fallen below an adequate level. Thus without regard to the traditional social structure the men have for the past twenty-five years been urged to give up hunting and turn to fishing or stock breeding. So the half-breed Greenlanders of the next generation assembled in fur or fish

world until visited by Robert E. Peary during the series of Polar expeditions which he carried out between 1892 and 1909. The first permanent trading station was established by Rasmussen in 1910 but it was not until 1937 that the Danish Government assumed official responsibility for the territory. The whole population is now Christian the last member having been baptized in 1934.

This group of 302 persons provides a typical example of an isolated community and while this is in itself a question of genetics it has to be considered in connexion with an essentially demographic problem—that of the actual survival of so small a group.

A study of vital statistics in small isolated areas points to the conclusion that stability and continuity can be maintained only where there are more than 500 inhabitants. Isolated groups of between 300 and 550 inhabitants are in an unbalanced state from which they may either achieve stability or rapidly disappear.¹

A careful analysis² of the structure of the population in Thule indicates that these figures are too hard and fast and should be modified. It is however true that the demographic situation of the tribe has always been precarious. It had 253 members in 1893, 207 in 1908 and 251 in 1923. The population is thus now slightly increasing at the rate of 0.8 per cent per annum. Lengthy contact with whites has lowered resistance to disease. Tuberculosis has developed. Moreover owing to considerable inbreeding cases of deformity though not numerous are sufficiently frequent to have an economic effect (being a burden on the community).

The level of

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is explained by the unusual prevalence of sterility due in part to inbreeding. Out of 51 women whose childbearing period was over eight or 16 per cent had proved sterile. The introduction of Christianity may also have had an effect since

In the studies for investigating a number of factors affecting the structure of a very small population. It sets the problem of the isolated community in a clear light and provides an interesting opportunity of testing the latest evolutionary theories regarding native peoples inhabiting a limited and sparsely populated area. The investigation of these theories would certainly be facilitated by the provision of information concerning other isolated groups especially in the arctic regions of Canada but so far as I know this is still very scarce.

One conclusion already emerges if this tribe is to maintain its

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Are economic resources sufficient to allow of this? In other words what is the optimum population? The impression is that the stability of such a

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population is ensured by its maintenance at a level somewhere between the biological minimum and the economic maximum. If it falls below the biological minimum, degeneracy sets in and the birth rate dwindles to vanishing point. If it rises above the economic maximum there is famine unless the protecting state intervenes.

The Eskimos have for centuries led their existence to a well established balance between local resources and their own minimum requirements. For some years past in the arctic region, this balance has been disturbed—the needs of the population are increasing.

It is to the credit of the Danish Government that it has taken every possible opportunity of using the trading post—that traditional lever of colonization—among the inhabitants. The Eskimos have completely

become yearly more dependent on this element of barter. The part of the world was both in view quite as revolutionary to many people regarded it as a Thule—because the district

is rich in game, hunters are few and the Danish authorities vigilant—it is inadvisable except in such conditions and can in any case provide only a temporary solution. As a means of supplying food—a small scale system operating in surroundings where productivity is low—its efficacy is limited partly because of the natural increase in the population and partly because of the rise in the standard of living. For since they came into contact with Europe the Eskimos have introduced gradual changes in their diet (increased consumption of margarine, coffee, tea and tobacco) and in their other habits (textiles are replacing seal skins and reindeer hides, wood, fuel, oils and coal are being used). Halfway along the road to civilization they are becoming more exacting and are no longer to be satisfied with their local resources alone. It is not improbable that, in these economic circumstances, the population will rise above the safe maximum within the fairly near future. If fresh local resources cannot be developed to supplement the traditional economy, the region will soon be overpopulated in the Malthusian sense of the term. As the hunting grounds cannot be indefinitely extended and it is based on further exploitation of animal life, it is already open to speculation whether the life of the inhabitants of other barren

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small towns will like their Icelandic neighbours look to fishing industries to satisfy all their need

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the Government is striving to Europeanize the life of the Eskimos without impoverishing it. This aim can not perhaps be attained in every case but the urgency of the economic problems must be borne in mind.

Such are the main lines of the policy followed for nearly two and a half centuries on the west coast of this big island between latitudes 70 N and 60 N. In the light of the experience thus gained it has become evident that of cultural and social mot v

results can be achieved. The situation of Eskimo society calls for an assessment of resources—it is a social problem. Even a small fluctuation caused for instance by an epidemic or a food shortage can place this handful of people in an alarming situation and in 1950 I found that from the sociological point of view its structure was equally frail.

The structure of any Eskimo community is of course admittedly fragile. In a society which has never developed beyond the embryonic stage the spread of Christianity and education the visits—however brief and intermittent—of European expeditions and the introduction of modern technical processes have set up a condition of latent traumatism. Under the continual impact of these new forces the traditional methods of tribal government have gradually fallen into disuse: they survived until 1951 only because the Danish authorities both private and governmental had wisely refrained—in 1910 and again in 1938—from disturbing the segregated and isolated life of the tribe. To all appearances it still leads a balanced existence but the real situation is not reassuring.

The traditional religious theories of the people strike them today as untenable. Their legends and beliefs no longer backed by the authority of the medicine man are gradually being forgotten. Relationships within the tribe having lost their religious implications are changing. In former times they were based on respect for the most experienced hunter, now they are conditioned among the young men by their degree of Europeanization—diplomas, bank accounts, administrative responsibilities. Instead of hunting in parties for bear or walrus they go out individually to set traps. The spirit of fellowship which was maintained by common interests is now declining and giving place to an individualistic and commercial spirit which because of the demands of trade is directed towards the outer world.

In fact if we follow Levi Strauss's suggestion² and consider those external characteristics which affect the structure of what we call a primitive society and distinguish it from the type of society we regard as modern or civilized we are forced to admit that they are no longer to be found in Thule. It may

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seem surprising that in such circumstances development should not have been
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advanced the shell may be expected to crack Labour will then become
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towards an expanding economic area—though if the attraction is to be suf-
ficiently strong that area must be in the neighbourhood of the region to
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rather than economic reasons and it was purely by chance that this gigantic
airfield was created close to an Eskimo settlement The future will show
whether a base situated further north in a better position from the economic
point of view will not prove more suitable than Thule for civil aviation.

In any case the construction of this airfield by complicating the problem
of the need for investigation.
between a small tribe
military civilization

has given cause for very serious thought In the course of
a few weeks this community has undergone a positive transformation Will it
be able to draw steady benefit from the change? This depends partly on the
adaptability of the people themselves which we know to be considerable
but partly too on the speed with which new native leaders succeed in
modernizing the local way of life while preserving some of its essential features
The community suffered from disintegration in 1931 because the Danish authorities

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fear—and also because there was no work for them at the station because
they could no longer carry on their ordinary occupations in the immediate
neighbourhood of Thule (the water was polluted by petrol the seals migrated
and there was noise and dust)—decided of their own accord to move 200 kilo-
metres further north to the old village of Kvanak

It must not, however be supposed that this northward flight will settle the
difficulty for very long There have been some interesting examples of counter-
culturation, but these are bound to be ephemeral Though the Thule of
legend has changed the problem remains to be solved and time is not

to bring about the disappearance of this primitive group regarded as a specific
social unit.

If its members are to be integrated it is highly advisable for their integration
to take place before their former social structure has degenerated too far—and
they themselves with it The tests I mentioned out with schoolage children
(Rorschach the Zazzo cross-out the Prudhommeau copied drawing) the
particulars supplied by the local authorities and above all the technological

small towns will like their Icelandic neighbours look to fish and other industries to satisfy all their needs

to such are still of value such as their language and folklore In other words the Government is striving to Europeanize the life of the Eskimos without impoverishing it This aim can not perhaps be attained in every case but the urgency of the problems must be borne in mind

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The traditional religious theories of the people strike them today as untenable Their legends and beliefs no longer backed by the authority of the medicine man are gradually being forgotten Relationships within the tribe having lost their religious implications are changing In former times they were based on respect for the most experienced hunter now they are conditioned among the young men by their degree of Europeanization—diplomas bank accounts administrative responsibilities Instead of hunting in the mountains for bear or walrus they go out individually to the outer world because of the demands of trade

In fact if we follow Lévi Strauss's suggestion² and consider those external characteristics which affect the structure of what we call a primitive society and distinguish it from the type of society we regard as modern or civilized we are forced to admit that they are no longer to be found in Thule It may

Similar observations by
Margaret Leach (1955)
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in Lévi Strauss

predominant in the country its members belonging to several different cultural levels. Most of the 3 million people who make up the lower social

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to prevent their disintegration so that they are no longer in danger from the

greed of neighbouring landowners. They are social units which can and

should be evolved, for generally speaking their present level of production

is scarcely sufficient to meet local consumer needs. These communities are

at present being studied by Peruvian ethnologists who are preparing a plan for

converting them into active centres of production by taking advantage of

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—anthropologists, economists, sociologists, agronomists, teachers, psychologists, town planners, engineers, etc.—working closely

together in the central government departments and in the villages themselves.

The Huarochiri project (in an Indian community in the Department of Lima)

is the first experiment along these lines, undertaken partly as a pilot project.

In order to know how far these communities have an organized structure

and are prepared for modern life we shall describe the position in three of

them: Muquiyauyo, Tupe and Taquile. Muquiyauyo is considered to be

one of the most highly developed communities in Peru. Tupe is the surviving

remnant of an old ethnolinguistic group, the Hauke. Taquile on Lake

Ticaca is the least advanced of the three communities and may be regarded

as being still in 1954 at the stage characteristic of the old Indian communities.

THE ISLAND OF TAQUILE¹

... of 650 people living on one of the

... of nearly 12,600 feet. Only two

... under of the population speaking

... cultural and the main crop is the

potato. For centuries past the people have had the subsistence economy

typical of Indian communities. They have only one harvest a year as they

have no water for irrigation; the rains are therefore a determining factor in

the annual rhythm of their life. The change in the system of landownership

which has been going on over the last twenty-five years determines their

entire attitude and conduct. Until 1930 all the Indians were simply *colonos*

(peons) of absentee mestizo landlords. Since then, as a result of various

favourable circumstances, the *colonos* have begun to purchase their own land.

The island, which is about three miles long and one and a quarter wide

at the widest part, was in 1580 awarded to a Spaniard, who became its first

owner under Spanish law. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

it passed into the hands of a series of different owners, and thereafter was

transmitted by inheritance until in 1930 it was divided between eight owners.

¹ José M. Torres: *La propiedad en la Isla de Taquile*. Extracts from the *Tercer de la India y Fomento de Estudios Andinos*, vol. II, Paris-Lima, 31. Ronales A. M. Torres: *La Organización social en la Isla de Taquile*. *Ibid.*

history of this race reveal the people's extraordinary adaptability (mechanical skill talent for learning languages evident willingness) The stage of development they have already reached together with their natural qualities suggest that at the present moment they run no risk of being overmodernized Their integration must of course be carefully planned and too abrupt contacts avoided It should also be possible to make use of their particular aptitudes—fur farming training them as guides for work in the mountains or rescue teams for use in plane crashes—to instruct them and encourage them to specialize Such a policy if introduced without delay and carried out with moderation and caution may perhaps lead to the formation of a new type of Eskimo society

In view of the limited resources available to these people and the danger that their tribal structure may collapse as a result of the establishment of the military base one wonders (though this to some extent contradicts what I have written elsewhere¹) whether the opening of the Arctic to air traffic may not turn out to be providential for the Eskimo people—not in every case but wherever local resources are insufficient to enable them to eke out a living by adding sea fishing to hunting their attachment to their native soil makes them shrink from migrating to any considerable distance Only in the requirements of the infra structure can such groups find new and profitable activities through which to satisfy their recently awakened material and cultural needs It is sincerely to be hoped that these new developments will not end by creating a situation which it is their specific purpose to prevent—a situation in which the native population becomes doubly proletarian having lost its tribal structure without acquiring any vocational qualifications

THREE INDIAN COMMUNITIES IN PERU

J. MATOS MAR

Peru like most of the Latin American countries is considered to be under developed.² A third of its 9 million inhabitants eke out a precarious existence and take practically no part in the life of the nation. Owing to their racial and cultural characteristics this great body of people commonly known as the Indian population is only slowly being absorbed into the Peruvian culture giving rise to a series of cultural adjustments and disadjustments and finally to acculturation—a phenomenon which has been characteristic of the country for the last four hundred years but which is taking place in unpropitious circumstances. This process is leading to the development of a mixed or mestizo population (both culturally and physically) which at present

J. M. I. Problèmes économiques et humains Groenlandais Th. 16 A. *Annales de Géographie* P. 19
95 136 p. 97
G. Halder Contrib. à un soci. log. de la dépe de ce C. h. er. *Internationale de Soc. et gé. III* 95
vol. VII p. 47-9. CL p. 37
This expression is used in the sense in which it is employed by the *League of Nations* — *Manual for the Economic Development of the Underdeveloped Countries* Report by group of experts appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations May 1951

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 is scarcely sufficient to meet local consumer needs. These communities are
 at present being studied by Peruvian ethnologists who are preparing a plan for
 converting them into active centres of production by taking advantage of
 the latent energies which in the past helped them to lay the foundations of
 the old Peruvian culture. If such a plan is to be prepared it is essential to
 have the co-operation of teams of specialists in various branches of study
 — anthropologists, economists, sociologists, agricultural experts, doctors,
 teachers, psychologists, town planners, engineers etc. — working closely
 together in the central government departments and in the villages themselves.
 The Huarochiri project (in an Indian community in the Department of Lima)
 is the first experiment along these lines undertaken partly as a pilot project.
 In order to show how far these communities have an organized structure
 and are prepared for modern life we shall describe the position in three of
 them: Muquyayso, Tupe and Taquile. Muquyayso is considered to be
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 remnant of an old ethnolinguistic group, the Hauke. Taquile on Lake
 Titicaca is the last advanced of the three communities and may be regarded
 as being still in 1954 at the stage characteristic of the old Indian communities.

THE ISLAND OF TAQUILE

Taquile is a homogeneous community of 650 people living on one of the
 islands on Lake Titicaca at an altitude of nearly 12,600 feet. Only two
 adult and six children speak Spanish; the remainder of the population speaking
 only Aech'a. The native economy is agricultural and the main crop is the
 potato. For centuries past the people have had the subsistence economy
 typical of Indian communities. They have only one harvest a year as they
 have no water for irrigation; the rains are therefore a determining factor in
 the annual rhythm of the life. The change in the system of landownership
 which has been going on over the last twenty-five years determines the
 entire attitude and conduct. Until 1930 all the Indians were simply *colonos*
 (peons) of absentee mestizo landlords. Since then, as a result of various
 favourable circumstances, the *colonos* have begun to purchase their own land.
 The island, which is about three miles long and one and a quarter wide
 at the widest point, was in 1580 awarded to a Spaniard who became its first
 owner under Spanish law. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries
 it passed into the hands of a series of different owners and thereafter was
 transmitted by inheritance until in 1930 it was divided between eight owners.

José M. Ito, *La propiedad en la Isla Taquile*. Extracts from the *Tratado de Etnología y Folklore de las Indias Andinas*
 Vol. III. Paris-Lima 9. Rosalva A. M. Ito, *La Organización social de la Isla de Taquile*. *Ibidem*.

who habitually referred to their estates on the island as haciendas. Until that date small as the estates were the landlords still received a proportion of the crops. Throughout this long period the Indians being treated as *colonos* were really serfs bound to the soil; they were transferred with the land and animals from one owner to another and even away from the island were obliged to perform a series of *mitas*.

kipu mitas had to the work to maintain

The journey to the nearest town which was then made on rafts of *tolora* (known as *balsas*) was very tiring; it took fifteen hours to cover the thirty mile stretch of water. This was one of the main reasons for the isolation of the island and the lack of interest shown by the landowners after a certain time, especially as they derived no great profit from their lands there. This situation encouraged a group of Indians to form a company which by formal deed purchased three of the properties on credit; this action was subsequently repeated until there are now only two small properties not belonging to the Indians. Until then the head of each family was simply entitled to a limited area of arable land in each of the four *syors* into which the island is divided; a house (accompanied by a small *canchon* or vegetable plot) on the estate of which he was a *colono* and a few animals for his own needs. After the purchase of the land these traditional rights and further plots of land were abolished.

As a result of this began to make the Indians distrustful of him and as a result they no longer presented a united front.

Lake Titicaca is subject to periodic fluctuations; its level rising and falling in regular sequence. One of the great falls in its level (sixteen feet in five years) began in 1944, leading to the almost complete disappearance of the *tolora*, a species of typha growing on the banks and in the shallows of the lake which is an extremely important raw material in native industries. At the outset the disappearance of the *tolora* was a calamity. Owing to the shortage of raw material for building their rafts the Indians were in danger of being left with no means of communication. This problem which also affected the inhabitants of the other islands and peninsulas in the lake led to the use of sailing boats. In this way the journey from Taquile to Puno was reduced from fifteen to four or five hours. The first boat was bought but the others were built on the island by the Indians who now have five of them. The growth of landownership and the change in communications have quite altered conditions in the island. The closely knit community has come safely through a stage of crucial importance. Although the Indians have become the owners of almost the whole island and although the performance of services without payment for the former owners has been abolished, the importance of the island in the life of the community has been reduced and scarcely any of the land is now used in the common pasturage.

It follows the traditional pattern; the same crops are grown and the same implements used for tilling the land—the *taklla* (a primitive foot plough) and the ox-drawn plough. The work is done both individually and collectively; the systems of *ayni* (mutual help) and *minka* (communal work).

yanapankuy (mutual help among people not related to one another) and independent co-operative groups for the conduct of specific activities are all working perfectly satisfactorily.

The Indians make their own clothing and weave their own cloth. Their harvests are sufficient for them to engage in a little trade, partly barter and partly sale for money. They gradually collect the necessary amounts for the purchase of land, the building of boats and the buying of the commodities they need for their own consumption, such as matches, lamp oil, wool, alcohol (for celebrations) and miscellaneous goods. They supply the outside market with potatoes, wood for fuel, and a few carved stone objects.

The presence of a school, which has been in existence for eight years, has so far brought about no improvement, mainly because it has not taken due account of the special requirements of the community.

The struggle for the ownership of land and the change in the means of communication and transport are thus the two main factors conducive to economic development and the introduction of modern technology. The Indians living on the island are now in close and constant touch with Puno, which in its way is the most advanced centre on the Peruvian plateau. The other Indian communities look up to them and quote them as an example as being the first to acquire ownership of the land they cultivate. It is interesting to note, however, that the people of Taquile, from all other points of view, are still the most conservative group to be found on the islands in the lake. Traditional institutions are still marked by the Western influence to which they were subjected in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The people are skillful at weaving and stone working. As the possibilities of agricultural development will always be limited, even in the most favourable circumstances, the increase in the population will make it more and more difficult for the land to support the people. This problem cannot be solved on Taquile; the necessity of leaving the island to find another means of livelihood is beginning to be felt, and a few of the inhabitants have gone as far away as Arequipa to work on the land, taking the places of peasants who have become industrial workers.

proceeds

THE INDIAN COMMUNITY OF TUPE

Tupe is a mestizo community in which the Indian influence is predominant. It is today a survival of the *Kauke* ethno-linguistic group, which is akin to Aymara, although it differs both from this and from the *Quechua*. It is a conservative group which is also represented in another part of Peru (the mountainous region of the Department of Lima) by a series of surviving communities that have not lost the vitality. It consists of about a thousand people living in four centres of population, all of whom without exception speak Spanish and *Kauke*. This community is in direct touch with more advanced centres such as Canete, Chuncha and Lima. Until the last thirty years the men used to make long journeys on foot for the sheep and cattle

who habitually referred to their estates on the island as *haciendas*. Until that date small as the estates were the landlords still received a proportion of the crops. Throughout this long period the Indians being treated as *colonos* were really serfs bound to the soil they were transferred with the land and animals from one owner to another and even away from the island were obliged to perform a series of compulsory

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The journey to Puno the nearest town which was then made on rafts of *tatora* (known as *balsas*) was very tiring it took fifteen hours to cover the thirty mile stretch of water. This was one of the main reasons for the isolation of the island and the lack of interest shown by the landowners after a certain time especially as they derived no great profit from their lands there. This situation encouraged a group of Indians to form a company which by formal deed purchased three of the properties on credit this action was subsequently repeated until there are now only two small properties not belonging to the Indians. Until then the head of each family was simply entitled to a limited area of arable land in each of the four *suynos* into which the island is divided a house (accompanied by a small *canchon* or vegetable plot) on the estate of which he was a *colono* and

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action and so became the largest landowner on Taquile. This began to make the other Indians distrustful of him and as a result they no longer presented a united front.

Lake Titicaca is subject to periodic fluctuations its level rising and falling in regular sequence one of the great falls in its level (sixteen feet in five years) began in 1944 leading to the almost complete disappearance of the *tatora* a species of typha growing on the banks and in the shallows of the lake which is an extremely important raw material in native industries. At the outset the disappearance of the *tatora* was a calamity. Owing to the shortage of raw material for building their rafts the Indians were in danger of being left with no means of communication. This problem which also affected the inhabitants of the other islands and peninsulas in the lake led to the use of sailing boats. In this way the journey from Taquile to Puno was reduced from fifteen to four or five hours. The first boat was bought but the others were built on the island by the Indians who now have five of them. The growth of landownership and the change in communications have quite altered conditions in the island. The closely knit community has come safely through a stage of crucial importance. Although the Indians have become the owners of almost the whole island and although the performance of services without payment for the former owners has been abolished the importance of the island in the life of the country has not increased and scarcely any progress has been made with its assimilation. Ownership of land is now in the hands of individuals but the land lying fallow is used for common pasturage the system of cultivation follows the traditional pattern the same crops are grown and the same implements used for tilling the land—the *taklla* (a primitive foot plough) and the ox-drawn plough. The work is done both individually and collectively the systems of *ayni* (mutual help) *minka* (communal work)

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the

peasants but no *millones* are losing their old skill at the loom. The people are qu a e to developments but conservative as the survival of their language shows

The extensive areas set aside for pasture could support larger flocks and herds which could enable the community to supply the coastal market. The sale of wool is already bringing in a large income but the money is not very wisely used. The productive capacity of the narrow gorge where the peasants grow their crops on long established terraces is steadily diminishing as a result of the use of unsatisfactory farm implements, unskilful repair of the terraces and the shortage of water at certain times although there are lakes on the mountain tops. The peasants all own small plots of land in various parts of the gorge and cultivate them by different methods. There are three separate forms of labour: *maga* or work by a man or woman paid by the day, *tuma* or voluntary help given in the hope of receiving similar help known as *retuma* (this is the old system of *ayni*) and finally *fajwa* or communal labour (the traditional *minka*).

The diet here unlike that of population of Taquile is poor and inadequate although generally speaking the economic standard of the latter community is the lower. Trade is well established, the members of the community begin young and learn to trade by taking cattle or cheese down to the coast; some of them have opened small shops in the village of which there are at present fifteen.

The influence of Catholicism is declining although the religious institutions and brotherhoods dating from the seventeenth century are still powerful. From the economic standpoint the latter act as small banks for the members. The loans they make by the year never exceed 200 soles (about £A) and the interest is constantly added to the capital. There are about thirty of these brotherhoods and every peasant belongs to at least one of them. The idea that interest on capital should produce interest is thus well established

needed in the way of machinery and *organisations* they try to give their children better opportunities by sending them to school in the towns. Tupe is a community in transition and like many others is waiting to become a part of a larger entity which will give it a new lease of life. For the time being it is drifting along by itself without problems of landownership, values with its neighbours or imminent dangers besetting it.

THE COMMUNITY OF MUQUYAYUO

This community enjoys a very definite prestige which since 1921 has spread beyond the frontiers of Peru and accounts for the interest still taken by anthropologists in Muquyayuyo. It is a typical example of what a *mestizo* group in the

trade. As a consequence of the development of communications they have given up this practice and now scarcely ever leave their own part of the country where they carry on agriculture their principal form of activity and stock rearing. The main road linking them with the large towns is four or five hours' walk away and like the neighbouring communities they are trying to build themselves a connecting road. The community lives at an altitude of about 3 300 feet in a mountainous gorge in the Andes. Like most of the communities in the Department of Lima it leads an isolated life: the ground is so broken that the villages have very little contact with one another. The greatest concentration of these communities is at Huarochiri where there are twelve of them. Generally speaking communication with the outside world is by way of the nearest valley to the neighbouring coastal towns and by way of the latter with Lima.

There have never been large estates owned by outsiders at Tupe: the land has always been the property of the local peasants. Up to 1820 the land was owned by the community or rather by the community council.

Local consumption is derived from the sale of animals (cattle, sheep and goats) and from the sale of wool and cheese. The *puna* at an altitude of about 13 000 to 16 000 feet is the only land still held in common and there the flocks are reared. The community itself has a capital fund which was established a long time ago and is increased year by year by the contributions of the members of the community and the interest on investments in the shape of annual loans. Women on an equal footing with men play a very active part in the life of the community: the work and responsibilities they undertake (the agricultural work is entirely in their hands) give them prestige and the men are thus left free to engage in trade. The preservation of the old traditions is very largely due to the women's influence.

Unlike the school at Taquile that at Tupe which was established fifty years ago has already achieved much: the members of the community themselves being responsible for its success. It is now however going through a period of crisis (because of the past history of the place there are still a few people in Lima who originally came from Tupe and are interested in the welfare of the community although as things are at present they can take no effective action on its behalf).

For administrative purposes the village comes under three institutions—the Government, the municipality and the community council. The field of the first is purely political: the municipality is short of money and of very little importance; the community council in fact carries out the necessary improvements and development work. Without any encouragement from the authorities of the department and province the Indians have been carrying out the projects they consider most desirable or accepting suggestions from people living in Lima who originally came from the community.

At present the following projects are under consideration:

...ther with the continual
...oot of certain rivalries

...interest though the feeling is
still seen to be strong at seed time and the various festivals

with two 75 h.p. Westinghouse units which have been working day and night since that date. The feed channel is 2 miles long and has a discharge of 3 cubic metres a second. Its maximum power is 150 kilowatts. It provides electric light and power for the community. The organization for running the station has a staff of five men. The station has a staff of five men. The station has a staff of five men.

Some of the money collected was invested in machinery for a spinning mill. The company Textil Muquiyauyo has a capital of 300,000 soles. It owns its premises which have been handed over to the community. The machines have been installed but it has not so far made a considerable amount of

running since 1927. Each man gets only 40 cents per arroba (25 lb) while others have to pay 80 cents. The mill is run by a 10 h.p. dynamo. The staff includes a miller who is paid on a percentage basis by the month and a voluntary manager.

Why did such a community once embarked on the process of industrialization, fail to complete it in spite of the equipment acquired?

The following are some of the factors that have helped to cause this stagnation:

1. The ratio of people to land has been completely changed. The population increased from 2,000 in 1918 to 5,100 in 1952. Of the eight square miles intended for the cultivation of food crops, half is now used for growing feeding stuffs for the cattle and sheep. The ratio has thus been completely reversed. This is due to the very large production of milk—220 gallons a day for five months of the year and 70 for the remaining months, almost all of which is produced for sale outside Muquiyauyo and brings in a considerable income. Malnutrition is beginning to affect the community. There is clear evidence of it in the poor work done by the schoolchildren. The problem is becoming serious and efforts are being made to solve it (mistakenly) by bringing into use part of the forest area, although there are still non-irrigated lands where the water problem, though difficult, is not insoluble.
2. The new generations have not fully replaced their predecessors, most of whom have now died or emigrated. The school has ceased to play the leading part it did some thirty years ago; the old enthusiasm has abated. The best members of the population have left the district for the mining centres and there is no family which has not at least one of its members in the mines. This work pays well, especially as Muquiyauyo still has a good reputation coming from the community is well received. It is a rise to be able to see them die of old age. The community who is now taking part in

anyway pays 150 soles a month to the community, who are now taking part in the communal work.

Another group, those who have continued their training for a trade or profession after leaving school, seek work in Lima or in the main towns of

central mountain area can achieve by its own unaided effort and independence from any but its own material resources.

On the other hand, external reasons. One of the chief reasons why any achievement by those regarded as natives always gives rise to serious opposition is that the natives have been seriously hampered by a campaign of constant opposition, the result of which has been to some extent to break down their former sense of unity and common interest.

The factors which made the development of the community possible were the following:

- 1 Two thousand inhabitants in possession of some eight square miles of fertile ground producing such abundant crops as to permit the sale of the surplus and who displayed a strong community spirit.
- 2 Until 1900 there was a clearly marked division into castes (mestizo and Indian) each of which had its own authorities. Since then the social organization has changed and the land has been divided up: collective ownership has given way to private ownership. The community is still communal in spirit and is still loyal to the Church.
- 3 Through the school an energetic education campaign benefited both Indians and mestizos and rapidly provided Muquiyauyo with qualified leaders whose influence was readily accepted. Education was the basis on which the teachers and organizers relied for the future development of the community.
- 4 The community found that its original capital furnished by the contributions of its members was considerably increased by the fines imposed for failure to take part in communal work and by the interest of 2 and 5 per cent charged on the loans granted up to a maximum of 200 soles to its members. The main reason for the economic success was the good agricultural yield and the existence of such markets in the vicinity as Jauja, the capital of the province six miles away, Huancayo, the chief city in Peru, 100 miles away, and the railway line which passes through the village.
- 5 The steady development of neighbouring mining centres quickly began to attract workers. The influence was felt in Muquiyauyo as in the other communities and gradually its young men went to work in the mines: the good wages paid them increasing the economic strength of the community. Those who were regarded as Indians in the community say that they could get good jobs there and this gave rise to a spirit of real competition. (Within the group the Indians and mestizos are still distinguished although outsiders class them all as Indians.)

The various circumstances created an atmosphere conducive to progress which in 1918 led the members of the community to establish a power station. They formed a committee to take the necessary steps and in 1920 the station was completed at a cost of nearly 10,000 soles. The station is equipped

the departments there being no opportunities for them in the community. Several members are given scholarships by the commune in order to complete their education but the best of them are lost to the community (which was not so thirty or forty years ago).

- 3 The hostility of the larger neighbouring villages and the lack of later technical advances which would have been invaluable in carrying out the plans. But the reverse occurred: the leaders constantly accused for being political agitators of the extreme left or fomentors of sedition were imprisoned and controls thwarted all further advance.
- 4 The technical advances that the members of the community were trying to introduce confronted them with problems for which they were not mentally prepared. The management of the electric power station and the spinning mill was never efficient and thus was one of the fundamental reasons for failure. Four years ago the people were cheated by a commercial firm from which they had purchased additional equipment to improve the power station for a sum of 300 000 soles: two transformers which could not be coupled to the existing machinery stood idle for two years although in the end one of them was adapted and is now in use. Several managers also embezzled large sums. No strict supervision was exercised over the installation of the street lamps in Jauja. If the receipts were well administered the present income could be doubled.

Muquiyauyo is a mestizo community living in the western part of the lovely and fertile valley of the Mantaro: its fields lie on perfectly flat ground which makes farming easier. Some of the people still speak Kechua at home. The village is built on the checker board plan of a Spanish town: it has thirty-five shops and an omnibus providing a daily service to Jauja and Huancaayo; it has no drinking water or sanitary services.

In conclusion we may draw attention to a few important aspects of the Peruvian Indian communities:

- 1 The Peruvian Indian communities take an inferior place in the cultural structure of present day Peru. There are however shades of difference and variations in the stage of development to be seen among them as in the cases of Taquile, Tupa and Muquiyauyo.
- 2 The common denominator is a consumption economy based on the combination of agriculture and stock rearing (the latter on a small scale).
- 3 From the cultural point of view they are ill equipped to cope with the changes to which the introduction of modern technology for the purposes of industrial development may give rise.
- 4 They constitute ideal basic units for the development of a large region of Peru—the mountain district where more than half the population of the country lives. They can be made productive supplying the nation with adequate quantities of foodstuffs and can help in the development of modern industry maintaining a proper balance between the number of people and the area of arable land available. They were able to produce a considerable quantity of crops between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries under the Inca empire.

5 The cultural development of several of them (e.g. Muquyayuyo) shows that in this respect no advance is possible even for an energetic community unless an overall plan supported by the state-making must be based on a firm basis. This means that

6 Anthropological and statistical data are absolutely necessary as a preliminary to any planning

7 The acclimatization is rapidly making Peru a predominantly underdeveloped country. The underdevelopment is proceeding rapidly and it can be said to direct the country has much to teach

8 From this point of view

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the departments there being no opportunities for them in the community. Several members are given scholarships by the commune in order to complete their education but the best of them are lost to the community (which was not so thirty or forty years ago).

- 3 The hostility of the larger neighbouring villages and the indifference and later the hostility of the central government have been a serious handicap which many people consider to be at the root of the decline in initiative. The inevitable internal struggles for improvement called for considerable efforts. Stimulus, understanding and support from outside would have been invaluable in carrying out the plans. But the reverse occurred: the leaders constantly accused for being political agitators of the extreme left or fomentors of sedition were imprisoned and controls thwarted all further advance.
- 4 The technical advances that the members of the community were trying to introduce confronted them with problems for which they were not mentally prepared. The management of the electric power station and the spinning mill was never efficient and this was one of the fundamental reasons for failure. Four years ago the people were cheated by a commercial firm from which they had purchased additional equipment to improve the power station for a sum of 300 000 soles: two transformers which could not be coupled to the existing machinery stood idle for two years although in the end one of them was adapted and is now in use. Several managers also embezzled large sums. No strict supervision was exercised over the installation of the street lamps in Jauja. If the receipts were well administered the present income could be doubled.

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I ORGANIZATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNESCO'S INTERNATIONAL INQUIRY INTO THE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

The swift development of the social sciences during the past 25 years and the increasingly important part which they are called upon to play in the organization of the modern world have prompted Unesco to consider the methods of social science teaching at present employed in the different cultural regions.

The purpose of this paper is to describe the various stages of the inquiry into social science teaching to show what results have been achieved and to identify certain future activities which would follow on from the inquiry and would be likely to lead to fresh progress in knowledge of man and society.

INQUIRY INTO THE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Unlike other great branches of learning the social sciences have by no means reached the same stage of development in each and every part of the world. In some countries they occupy an important place in higher education in others little social science is taught and moreover curricula and teaching methods vary considerably from country to country.

Therefore taking account of the prominent part which social science teaching should play in training for citizenship and of its potential contribution to the improvement of international understanding the General Conference of Unesco at its fifth session (Florence 1950) authorized the Director General of Unesco to undertake surveys in some countries of the types of courses and methods of instruction in the social sciences (Resolution 3.15).

In pursuance of this resolution the Director General called a meeting on 15 November 1950 of the Secretaries-General of the International Political Science Association, the International Economic Association, the International Sociological Association, the International Committee of Comparative Law and the International Studies Conference. The first of many important problems to be considered by this meeting was the establishment of the list of countries to be covered by the inquiry. In order to make the inquiry as general as possible the list had to include countries representative of different cultures and having different educational systems. It was agreed to include the following countries: Egypt, France, India, Mexico, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States of America and Yugoslavia. Further it was understood that the international associations should have every discretion to obtain from their own purposes additional reports on countries not covered by the general inquiry.

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The second task of the meeting of Secretaries General was to draw up a draft questionnaire to serve as a basis for the preparation of national reports on the teaching of the different disciplines in the countries mentioned. The purpose of the questionnaire was to show what information was required and to ensure as much uniformity as possible in the presentation of the data collected.

It remained for the meeting to define the meaning and content of the term social sciences. It very soon became apparent that to work out an exact and systematic definition of the various social science disciplines, their respective fields and their mutual relations, would have required a considerable amount of preliminary work, and that even then there would have been no guarantee that the results achieved would be generally acceptable. There is still no clear definition of the content of the social sciences, often the most fundamental concepts, as well as the terminology, vary from country to country. To quote only one example, social anthropology in the sense accepted in Great Britain differs from cultural anthropology as taught in the United States. In France the term *anthropologie sociale* is not at all commonly used in universities; moreover, what is taught as this subject often comes under the heading of *ethnologie*.

Nevertheless, in order to conduct a general inquiry into the teaching of social sciences, the Secretariat had to have some definition of their content. It therefore decided to adopt the empirical method of requesting the various international associations accustomed to working with the Secretariat to assume responsibility for the inquiry in their own particular fields. Thus the International Sociological Association was entrusted with the inquiry on sociology, interpreted in a very wide sense so as to include anthropology and social psychology; the International Economic Association was entrusted with the inquiry on political economy; the International Political Science Association with the inquiry on political science; the International Committee of Comparative Law with the inquiry on law and the philosophy of law; and the International Studies Conference with the inquiry on international relations. Subsequently, the Econometric Society was assigned the task of preparing a report on the teaching of econometrics.

The inquiry was to be limited to university studies. Each of the International Associations appointed a rapporteur general for its field of study as a whole. The following were chosen: for sociology, Professor Pierre de Bie of Louvain University; for economics, Mr C. W. Guillebaud of St John's College, Cambridge; for political science, Professor W. A. Robson of the London School of Economics and Political Science; London; for law, Professor J. P. Niboyet of the Faculty of Law of Paris University. Professor Niboyet, who died shortly afterwards, was replaced by Professor C. Eisemann of the same university; for international relations, Professor C. A. W. Manning of the London School of Economics and Political Science, London.

The preliminary phase and the organization of the inquiry ended with a second meeting of the five rapporteurs general, held in London on 17 and 18 July 1951. All the problems raised by the inquiry, and particularly that of the drafting of the questionnaire, were again studied, and steps were taken to ensure reception at the earliest possible date of the reports on all the countries included in the general list. In all, 54 experts submitted national reports to the five international associations responsible for the inquiry into social science teaching (see Appendix I, p. 48).

The General Conference of Unesco at its session in Paris in 1951 expressed a wish that the inquiry should be continued and authorized the Director General in the following resolution to embark on the second phase namely that of the compilation and presentation of the data collected.

The Director General authorized To formulate the results of the inquiry carried out in 1951 into the teaching of the social sciences so that Member States and the competent international organizations may derive therefrom suitable principles for the development and improvement of this teaching. (Resolution 6C/3.15)

In pursuance of the above resolution agreements were concluded with the various international associations for the organization of round table meetings and the preparation and discussion of the general reports concerning their respective disciplines. Further at the request of the rapporteurs-general the Secretariat undertook to obtain information about the general structure of higher education, and particularly about the university teaching of social sciences in the eight countries covered by the general inquiry. To this end reports were prepared by the following experts: Messrs M. Taha Hussein (Egypt), J. Chapsal (France), S. Mathai (India), G. Casanova (Mexico) and R. Enkén (Sweden). Sur Ernest Barke (United Kingdom), M. H. Taylo (United States of America) and Mr R. Uvalic (Yugoslavia).

Marking the final stage of the inquiry an inter-disciplinary meeting was held in Paris from 16 to 19 September 1952 in order to formulate a series of recommendations regarding ways of improving existing methods of social science teaching. A detailed account of these recommendations will be given in the next paragraph. These recommendations were presented by the rapporteurs-meeting of 20 experts from 11 different countries (see Appendix II) was required to consider in the light of the data collected and presented by the rapporteurs-general all the work accomplished since 1951 and to study certain problems which it was apparently essential to solve if social science teaching in universities was to be developed. These problems were as follows: (a) the status of the social sciences in universities; (b) the place of social sciences in general education and their role in training for certain careers; and (c) the training and recruitment of university teachers. The experts' report was submitted to the General Conference of Unesco at its seventh session held in September 1952 and distributed by the Secretariat.

In approving the experts' report the General Conference at its seventh session decided that the inquiry into social science teaching should be followed up by practical achievements. To that end it passed the following resolution: The Director General is authorized to encourage social science teaching in universities and secondary schools emphasizing the contribution on that such community. (Resolution 3.14.1)

The Secretariat immediately undertook a threefold project: The publication of separate volumes of the five general reports prepared under the auspices of the International Association: The Teaching of Political Science by W. A. Robson, The Teaching of Economics by C. W. Guillebaud, by C. A. W. Manning, The Teaching of Sociology by C. Lévi Strauss and J. Nuttin, The Teaching of Law by C. Eisenmann, The Teaching of Social Psychology by P. de B.

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It remained for the meeting to define the meaning and content of the term social sciences. It very soon became apparent that to work out an exact and systematic definition of the various social science disciplines, their respective fields and their mutual relations would be a considerable amount of work. There was no guarantee

There is still no clear idea of the social sciences, often the most fundamental concepts as well as the terminology vary from country to country. Only one example differs from others: the term *anthropology* is commonly used in universities, moreover what is taught as this subject often comes under the heading of *ethnology*.

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The preliminary phase and the organization of the inquiry ended with a second meeting of the five rapporteurs general held in London on 1, and 18 July 1951. All the problems raised by the inquiry, and particularly that of the drafting of the questionnaire, were again studied and steps were taken to ensure reception at the earliest possible date of the reports on all the countries included in the general list. In all 54 experts submitted national reports to the five international associations responsible for the inquiry into social science teaching (see Appendix I, p. 487).

and the valuable factors of the cultural diversity of the various peoples. However on a number of specific points the experts put forward suggestions which in their opinion should facilitate the development and improvement of social science teaching.

First and foremost, their conclusions reveal one prime necessity—a determination to break down the excessive divisions between the various branches of social science and their teaching. Such a removal of barriers will lead to exchanges of views from which these disciplines will benefit and bridge the gaps occasionally left between each separate branch of social science. This aim, which can be achieved in several ways according to the different national situations, will certainly be discussed at the various regional conferences to be held in 1954. The experts stressed that whatever the institutional formula adopted it is essential that study cycles should be organized for each branch of the social sciences and that all these cycles should lead to equivalent diplomas.

The experts further emphasized the need for citizens to understand the organization and working of the society in which they are required to live; they therefore indicated to universities the desirability of studying the place that the social sciences should take in general education and the part those sciences should play in the general and professional training of students who were preparing for certain careers requiring a thorough knowledge of social sciences such as the careers of civil servant, trade union official, architect, town planner, journalist, lawyer, etc.

Teaching and Training in the Social Sciences

The experts who met in September 1953 discussed the problems arising for all social science disciplines in regard to teaching and training. Considering that it was perhaps in this field that the greatest account must be taken of national habits, traditions and, to some extent, outline the experts considered that social science teaching should always be in line with the two following principles:

1. Students of whatever branch of social science should be given a general view of the social sciences as a whole so that they can appreciate the complexity and interdependence of the problems which arise in any and every human society.
 2. Students should be able to specialize at a relatively early stage in the discipline or group of disciplines in which they are to carry out work of a scientific or practical nature.
- The means of carrying these general principles into practice cannot be discussed here in full. But the regional conferences planned in 1954 have paid special attention to the experts' recommendations on this subject and particularly to the suggestions concerning a better organization of students' work. Questions of methods of work (team or individual) links between teaching and research as well as examinations and the conferring of university degrees should in each case be considered in the light of practical realities so that solutions can be worked out which can later be applied at the national level.

Recruitment of Teachers

In the social sciences as in any other field of scientific knowledge the method of recruiting teachers and the qualifications required of them vary considerably from one country to another. On the one hand we have teacher

Unesco is also issuing booklets for students on all the countries covered by the inquiry. Three of these booklets on the teaching of the various social science disciplines in France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America have already been published.

- 2 Furthermore the Secretariat organized three regional conferences in 1954 on social science teaching: the first at New Delhi and the other two at Beirut and in Costa Rica. There could be no question of recommending that all nations adopt a uniform system of teaching and regional conferences attended by representatives of countries with close geographical and cultural links will provide a means of working out in further detail how the recommendations put forward by the experts who met from 16 to 19 September 1952 can be applied to those countries. Above all these conferences by affording an opportunity of discussing how general principles can be embodied in a way for national conferences embodying the findings of regional meetings.
- 3 Lastly the Secretariat made arrangements for the despatch to Latin America and Pakistan of two missions of experts which were placed at the Governments' disposal. The experts appointed are in possession of the fullest possible information on the organization of social science teaching in the countries they visit.

THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE 1952 COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS

As we have seen the recommendations adopted by the 1952 Committee of Experts form a general set of principles for the improvement of social science teaching and it is proposed that they should be carried into effect through the organization of regional and later national conferences and the sending of missions of experts. They thus form a guide for action so that in accordance with the resolution adopted by the General Conference at its sixth session Member States and the competent international organizations may derive (from the results of the inquiry) suitable principles for the development and improvement of (social science) teaching. In this connexion brief mention should be made of the main proposals put forward by the experts concerning the status of the social sciences in universities, teaching and training in the social sciences and the recruitment of teachers.

Status of the Social Sciences in Universities

On studying the information assembled by the various international associations in the course of the inquiry the experts were impressed by what seemed to be its very great diversity. In most countries social science teaching has been introduced by gradual stages into existing university structures. This was done in various ways—in some cases through the slow and as it were organic evolution of the national system, in others by the systematic assimilation of foreign influences or models. Accordingly there could be no question of general recommendations that ignored the universities' historical evolution.

We thus see that, owing to the very nature of the problems brought to light by the inquiry, it would be natural to extend this inquiry in at least three further directions

So far as the disciplines in question are concerned further study should be instituted and information assembled so as to fill in some of the most serious gaps in the 1951 international inquiry. For this purpose the Draft Programme and Budget for 1955-56 provides for the organization of an inquiry into the present status of the teaching of statistics, demography, public administration and industrial relations in the eight countries originally selected for the international inquiry. The results of the inquiry will supply material for several booklets to be issued in the *Ta-hun* in the *Social Sciences* series.

The international inquiry has so far been confined to higher education. But the social sciences should possibly be regarded as part of any general education in which case they ought to be included in secondary and even primary school curricula. This may at first sight seem an attractive and fully justified measure. Instruction in the social sciences is today provided almost exclusively by the university and thus remains the privilege of a minority. Yet it may be asked whether for the smooth working of democracy in the broad sense of the term some basic knowledge of social science should not be supplied to all citizens who periodically have to take decisions on the complex political, economic and social problems facing any human society. The International Political Science Association has been particularly concerned with one point—the termination of the part that should be played by political science in the training of citizens. Should not civics revitalized by scientific methods be one of the basic subjects taught at secondary schools? The general imparting of this way of notions of social science seems to raise very great difficulties and educationists are showing some reluctance in the matter. However it would be difficult to deny the majority of future citizens an opportunity of acquiring some objective grasp of social realities, their complexity and their evolution. Furthermore the inquiry into social science teaching showed that this teaching cannot be profitable at the university level unless pupils receive in preparation for it in their secondary school studies. The Secretariat, in co-operation with the leading international teachers' associations, has accordingly endeavoured in 1954 to give critical consideration to the present position of secondary schools with regard to such teaching. Experiments already attempted must be analysed and an effort made to assemble information on the basis of which the Secretariat can work out suggestions for teachers.

In addition it is thought that—following the example set by certain countries though still on a small scale—encouragement should be given to the inclusion of elementary social science lessons for adults in the programmes of folk high schools, evening courses and courses organized by workers' trade unions. This question would probably be of special interest to countries of northern Europe and the United States of America for instance where adult education is already highly developed. The Secretariat will therefore see whether a study of this question could be included in one of the organizations.

Of the many problems raised by the links between social science and everyday

recruitment by a fairly rigid system of competitive examination on the other a system that relies mainly on the candidate's personal work and his aptitude for scientific research—recruitment on a basis of qualifications. Both procedures have their advantages and disadvantages and each is the outcome of a particular cultural tradition. The meeting of experts did not discuss a

did however discuss a raising especially serious recruitment and these will have to be reverted to at regional conferences. With regard for instance to the role to be allotted in social science teaching to practising professionals the experts thought that in order to link theory with practice recourse should be had for teaching purposes to specialists exercising some extra university profession provided there was always a sufficiently large permanent staff of teachers to control the policy to be followed and the practising ones were employed simply to supplement

As the training of teachers is dependent on the stage reached by the social sciences the experts considered that the underdeveloped countries were bound to make arrangements for study abroad. They emphasized however that cultural differences between the countries in which study is undertaken and those in which teaching is practised

consider the most appropriate means of achieving this aim.

FUTURE EXTENSION OF THE INQUIRY

The international inquiry conducted in 1951 covered the following disciplines: sociology, social psychology and anthropology, economics and econometrics, law and philosophy of law, political science and international relations.

For many reasons this list cannot be considered to cover all branches of social science. In the first place it is generally recognized that history and geography have many links with the social sciences. Secondly some branches of study such as demography, criminology, public administration and industrial relations, the teaching of which is so far not very advanced except in a few countries, were disregarded or not dealt with as fully as they would have been had they been surveyed direct. Lastly statistics, the techniques of which are extensively used by many branches of social science, were not given even incidental consideration.

Furthermore the international inquiry was concerned exclusively with higher education and it is perhaps time to see whether encouragement should not be given to the teaching of the social sciences and the humanities in secondary or perhaps even primary schools.

Attention should also be paid to a number of practical problems raised by the link between the social sciences and everyday activities, e.g. problems connected with openings for employment and careers and the training of national and international civil servants.

APPENDIX I

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Ch pal
Internat nal Stud m u L D mock (U ted States f Amer ca) S Fl i h
(Fran) A App d ra Confer ce Messrs M A Y h (Egypt) J J Chevall er
G L Goodwin (United K d m) G Casano a (Mexico) K E Brnha m (Sweden)
J Dj djec c (A goslavia) H Sp out (U ted States f America) and
I ternat nal E mic Assoc t Messrs R Clémens (Belgium) W Mess ha
(Egypt) E J mes (France) F L tg E Preuer (Germany) C N Vakul (Ind)
C Arena (Italy) A Kozlik (Mex o) T P l der (Sweden) C W G ll ba d
(United Kingd m) H T ylo (United States of America) and R U al c (t go-
al)
I ternat nal Committee of Comparative Law Messrs R Clém ns \ J nne
J Dabin (Belgium) K M rsy (Egypt) A T nc, H Bat ffol H Motulsky
(Fran e) K Zw gert (Germany) S S Nehru (India) Jean Cheval e B Tablah
(Leban) F Del Castill E Trigueros (Mexico) A M linst òm I Strahl
(Sweden) C J H ms M Sta dford \ J Campbell J L Montrose
H C Gutteridge R Gra son (United Kingd m) J N Hazard A Eh enzw g
(United States f Amer ca) nd B Bl goyev c (Y gosl via)
I ternat nal Soci logical Associ t Messrs S A Hozayen H El Saaty
(Egypt) E Morin (Fra) G S Ghurye (I d) L Mend eta y N Bez (Mexico)
S Ossow k (P l d) E Tegen K Malst m B G Rundblad S Eruxon (Swed n)
D G M cRa (United Kingd m) R Melt er J G Manis S Ray L Wirth
a d E W Voeg hn (U ted States f America)

APPENDIX II INTERDISCIPLINARY MEETING OF THE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES—UNESCO 16-19 SEPTEMBER 1952

Last f P rticipants

P d B Pr fess of Soci logy Uni ers ty of Lo vain (Belg m)
T Ca alca t Direct of th Nat nal Faculty of Economics Uni ers ty of Braz l,
Ru de Ja er (Bra il)
T Col P fesso f Political Sc en e Duk Uni ers ty Durham (U ted States f
Amer ca)
M Du erger Profess f Political Scien Uni ers ty f Bordeaux (Fra ce)
C Eisenmann, P fessor of Law Uni ers ty of Paris (Fran)
M Ginsberg Pr fess f Sociology Lo d n School f Eco omics and Pol tical Science
(United Kingd m)
C W Guill b d Profess f Eco mics, St J hn College Cambridg (United
Kingd m)
J N Haza d P fess f Law Columbia University New Y k (United States of
America)
S H fstra Dir tor of the Inst tut f Social St des Th H gu (Netherlands)
K. Kelsen P fessor f Law Inst tut des Ha tes Études Internat nales Geneva
(Switzerland) d Emeritus P fesso Berk ley University California (United States
f America)
C Levi Strauss Pr fess f Cultural Anthropology lles des H utes Études P ns
(F n)
C A W Manning Pr fesso f Internat nal Rel ns Lo d n School of Economics
d Plu i S en (United Kingd m)
J Meyna d Pr fessor f Political Eco my F ndat n N t nal des Sciences
P l iques P ns (Fra)
H Minami Professor f Soc l Psy h logy Hit tsubishi Uni ers ty T ky (J pan)
O A. Oeser Pr fessor f Soc l Psy h logy Uni ers ty of M lbourne (Australia)

living conditions two seem to merit special mention.

The first is

important

to this question.

its point if it were strictly

Any teaching results in it

point then is how far the development of this skill should be pushed in social

science teaching. The universities would surely be impoverished if they

eschewed anything describable as professional.

the more common

delimitation

careers are now coming into being

It would accordingly be necessary before assessing the possible impact of the factors on teaching to determine the careers for which the social sciences are at present able to supply qualified specialists. In this connexion it is worth pointing out that the international associations have repeatedly stressed the need for an inquiry into the careers open to social scientists and into the type of employment they may find in various sectors of the community. The relatively undeveloped countries also wish to know how a knowledge of social science could improve the performance of a number of social functions. Many of them, especially those where the traditional concentration on law and the humanities has led to unemployment in the liberal professions, would like to know how the traditional training should be modified in order to meet new conditions. The Draft Programme and Budget for 1955-56 draws the attention of the Unesco National Commissions to the importance of this problem of openings and suggests their undertaking an inquiry into supply and demand in social scientists. The Secretariat will naturally make available to these Commissions any information it may be able to assemble on the subject.

Another question raised by the links between social science and everyday living conditions is the training of national and international civil servants.

In view of the increasingly technical character of State functions and of the efforts made to give the decisions of government departments in the political, economic and social fields a firm basis

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be

and at its content should be. It has not yet been possible to take up this problem in the organization's current programmes, but it might be included in the 1957-58 programme. The same applies to the training of international civil servants, which has so far been considered only at the national level. The development of international organizations, however, is bound to raise the question of the training of their officials, especially if technical assistance is widely extended. In particular the training of technical assistance experts raises considerable problems, complicated by the fact that the persons who have to receive such training come from different cultural backgrounds, have received widely varying education and are often required to take up their duties in countries with very different cultural traditions. Many plans for the training of international civil servants have already been put forward, but no systematic study of the subject has been undertaken, and it is felt that Unesco could usefully investigate the possibilities in consultation with the United Nations and appropriate specialized agencies.

APPENDIX I

International Political Science Association Messrs A. El Emery (Egypt) J. Chapsal (France) S. V. Kogeka (India) L. M. d. ta y N. Mez (Mexico) S. Fl. l. h (P. l. d.) E. Hastad (Sweden) W. J. Ma. k. n. z. e. and A. H. Hanson (United Kingdom) Marshall E. Dmoch (United States of America)

International Studies Conference Messrs M. A. Yehia (Egypt) J. J. Chevallier (France) A. Appadorai (India) G. Casanova (Mexico) K. L. Brnba m (Sweden) G. L. Good m (United Kingdom) H. Spout (United States of America) and J. Djordjevic (Yugoslavia)

International Economic Association Messrs R. Clémens (Belgium) W. Messha (Egypt) E. J. mes (France) F. Lutz E. Preuser (Germany) C. N. V. k. l. (India) C. Arena (Italy) A. Kozlik (Mexico) T. P. l. n. d. r (Sweden) C. W. Guillard (United Kingdom) H. Taylor (United States of America) and R. U. a. l. c. (Yugoslavia)

International Committee of Comparative Law Messrs R. Clémens, V. Janne (Belgium) K. Mursy (Egypt) A. Tu. H. Bat. t. l. H. Mot. l. s. k. y (France) K. Zweigert (Germany) S. S. Nehru (India) Jean Chevalier B. Tabba (Lebanon) F. Del Castillo E. Trigueros (Mexico) A. Malmström, I. Strahl (Sweden) C. J. Hinson, M. Standford A. J. Campbell J. L. Montrose (United States of America) and B. Bl. g. j. e. v. c. (Yugoslavia)

International Sociological Association Messrs S. A. Hozayen H. El Saaty (Egypt) E. Morin (France) G. S. Ghury (India) L. Mendeta y Nuñez (Mexico) S. Osowski (Poland) E. Tegen K. M. b. t. e. m. B. G. Rundblad S. Erux n (Sweden) D. G. MacRae (United Kingdom) R. M. l. t. e. r. J. G. Manus S. Ray L. Wurth d. E. W. Voegel (United States of America)

APPENDIX II INTERDISCIPLINARY MEETING OF THE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES—UNESCO 16-19 SEPTEMBER 1952

List of Participants

P. d. B. Pr. fess. of Sociology University of Louvain (Belgium)

T. Cavalcanti Director of the National Faculty of Economics University of Brazil

R. d. Janer (Brazil)

T. Col. P. fess. of Political Science Duke University Durham (United States of America)

M. Du. e. r. g. e. r. P. fess. of Political Science University of Bordeaux (France)

C. Eisenmann, Pr. fess. of Law University of Paris (France)

M. Ginsberg Pr. fess. of Sociology London School of Economics and Political Science (United Kingdom)

C. W. Guillard P. fess. of Economics St. John's College, Cambridge (United Kingdom)

J. N. Hazard Pr. fess. of Law Columbia University New York (United States of America)

S. H. Isra. Direct. of the Institut of Social Studies The Hague (Netherlands)

K. A. Isen P. fess. of Law Institut des Hautes Études Internationales Geneva (Switzerland)

d. Emeritus P. fess. Berkeley University California (United States of America)

C. Lévi Strauss Pr. fess. of Cultural Anthropology École des Hautes Études Paris (France)

A. W. M. n. n. g. Professor of International Relations London School of Economics and Political Science (United Kingdom)

J. Meynaud Professor of Political Economy Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques Paris (France)

H. Minami, Pr. fess. of Social Psychology Hitotsubashi University Tokyo (Japan)

O. A. Oester Professor of Social Psychology University of Melbourne (Australia)

T Palander Professor of Economics
W A D

S
Chicago (United States of America)
R Uvalic, Vice Rector and Professor of Political Economy University of Belgrade
(Yugoslavia)
L von Wiese Professor of Sociology University of
International
Ges (UN)
University
Studies
in Philosophy and Humanistic

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UNESCO PAMPHLET SERIES ON RACE

G SAENGER

A few years ago the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization published a series of pamphlets entitled *Modern Science Writes on Race*. In many countries the series has been used in reducing prejudice. It has provided authoritative information on the nature of race and racial differences the origins and uses of prejudice.

In 1955 Unesco set up a small pilot study in the United States in order to test the effectiveness of these pamphlets as teaching aids in American high schools and colleges. The aim of the study was to ascertain to what extent exposure to the pamphlets contributed to the existing knowledge of its readers and affected prejudiced attitudes.

The execution of the study was entrusted to the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. A SPSSI committee appointed for this purpose consisting of Dr Otto Klineberg, Dr Dorwin Cartwright and Dr Stuart Cook asked Dr Gerhart Saenger of New York University to act as project director of the study co-sponsored by Unesco and SPSSI.

The study was conducted with the assistance of four graduate students working on their MA theses—Martin Bobrowsky, Arnold Jaffe, Arlene Newman and Leonard Solomon—and 30 volunteers from a class in race relations at New York University.

DETERMINANTS OF EFFECT

The effect

on the extent that the reader can draw his own conclusions apply

what he has learned the message must be accepted and result in the desired change in attitude

Using a captive audience such as students it may appear at first glance that it would not be possible to obtain information concerning our first variable Yet college students do not always read all their assignments We were there free able to find out whether the less informed and more prejudiced subjects who could benefit most from reading were reached as often as the other students

Some clarification is also needed concerning the difference between the attainment of new information and understanding It is possible to acquire new facts in a mechanical way without understanding their implications so as to be able to make deductions Education sometimes succeeds only in enabling the student to check the correct answer on a true false question He fails however in grasping its meaning is unable to express the idea in his own words

OBSTACLES TO USE OF PAMPHLETS IN HIGH SCHOOLS

In many communities the United Nations and especially Unesco are considered controversial topics Most school administrators therefore appear to hesitate to expose their students to Unesco materials

Interviews with school superintendents in New York and New Jersey communities and from a population of 5000 to a population of 400000 indicated that this fear goes back to the successful fight of patriotic groups in Los Angeles against the use of a series of Unesco publications explaining the work and philosophy of the organization In the debate on the use of the pamphlets in California Unesco was accused of alienating the loyalties of the school children from the United States and of advocating socialism

This type of prejudice led to apprehensions among school administrators concerning the use of public schools of any Unesco publications regardless of their content Most administrators spontaneously referred to the California case when asked for permission to conduct a study in their district

I discussed the topic of the Unesco study with the school executives of R County and it was the consensus of opinion of the members attending the meeting that they would rather not become involved in a study of this type at the present time They feel that you have a worthy project but due to unfavorable publicity as far as the UN and Unesco is concerned it would be disastrous to conduct a study at this time (Supervising Principal)

The impressions gained from discussions with school administrators were reinforced by talks with teachers from a fairly large number of communities in the eastern seaboard gathered for an educational conference in New York City

Metropolitan New York constituted an exception The Board of Education was willing to cooperate in the project However civic pressure against the use of any attitude scales dealing with information about attitudes toward racial or religious groups would have made the study of doubtful value The board gave permission only for the use of strictly informational items and excluded any questions making reference to specific ethnic groups Even such a limited study was to be conducted only in selected schools having

- T Palander Professor of Economics University of Upsala (Sweden)
 W A Robson Professor of Political Science London School of Economics and Political Science (United Kingdom)
 S Tax Vice Dean and Professor of the Division of Social Sciences University of Chicago (United States of America)
 R Uvalic Vice Rector and Professor of Political Economy University of Belgrade (Yugoslavia)

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THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UNESCO PAMPHLET SERIES ON RACE

G SAENGER

A few years ago the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization published a series of pamphlets entitled *The Race Question in Modern Science*. Written by some of the leading scientists in the Unesco member countries the series was designed to implement the work of the United Nations in reducing prejudice and discrimination by providing authoritative information on the nature of race and racial differences the origins and uses of prejudice.

In 1952 Unesco set up a small pilot study in the United States in order to test the effectiveness of these pamphlets as teaching aids in American high schools and colleges. The aim of the study was to ascertain to what extent exposure to the pamphlets contributed to the existing knowledge of its readers and affected prejudiced attitudes.

The execution of the study was entrusted to the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. A SPSSI committee appointed for this purpose consisting of Dr Otto Klineberg Dr Dorwin Cartwright and Dr Stuart Cook asked Dr Gerhart Saenger of New York University to act as project director of the study co-sponsored by Unesco and SPSSI.

The study was conducted with the assistance of four graduate students working on their M.A. theses—Martin Bobrowsky Arnold Jaffe Arlene Newman and Leonard Solomon—and 30 volunteers from a class in race relations at New York University.

DETERMINANTS OF EFFECT

The effectiveness of the pamphlets can be described in terms of the following conditions: the pamphlets must reach their audience; they must be comprehensible; they must succeed in increasing information; their message must be understood to the extent that the reader can draw his own conclusions; apply

be read by the third of the nation's adults who have had at least some college education. But even the college students often complained about difficulties and the unattractive make up of the pamphlets.

THE COLLEGE SAMPLE

Five colleges were chosen to test the effectiveness of the pamphlets among college students: the School of Education of New York University, Montclair Teacher's College and Upsala University in New Jersey, Kent State University, Ohio, and the University of Wisconsin. The choice of colleges in the east as well as the middle west was dictated by the desire to have a more representative sample. It was expected that the midwestern students would in general be more prejudiced, less friendly toward the United Nations and less exposed to previous intergroup education. The study did not bear out our assumption that midwestern students were more prejudiced and had less intergroup education. It was found, however, that midwesterners were less favourably inclined toward the United Nations than eastern students.

In the east, metropolitan NYU had the least prejudiced students, followed by Montclair, a New Jersey State Teacher's College, Upsala, a small denominational liberal arts college, had the lowest scholastic standard and the highest amount of prejudice. In the midwest, Kent State University had the least prejudiced than those of the

age of the
classes
as students
not taking them. The total sample may constitute a small bias in so far as students were always present during the four class periods required to administer all tests and others failed to heed the written instructions correctly or omitted questions. The analysis was based on 450 cases.

RESEARCH DESIGN

In order to test the effectiveness of exposure to the pamphlets, the total population in each college was divided into three groups: (1) a control group which took all the tests used to establish effectiveness but did not read the pamphlets; (2) an experimental group which read the pamphlets but did not discuss them; and (3) a group which read and discussed the pamphlets prior to taking the tests (omitted in NYU).

The effectiveness of education may be reduced by the frequently observed tendency of potential audiences to avoid exposure to ideas with which they find themselves in disagreement. We also tend to avoid reading materials produced by persons or organizations toward whom we harbour unfriendly attitudes. This study the effect of such resistances, a test measuring prejudicial attitudes, a test measuring attitudes toward Unesco, and the California F-scale were given prior to exposure to the reading materials.

The administration of these tests made it possible not only to study the effect of resistance on exposure to the Unesco materials and on the acquisition

exceptionally high scholastic standards and known for good work in intergroup relations. Because of all these limitations it was decided not to attempt a study in New York high schools.

Not much was lost however because it is fairly safe to predict that the pamphlets would have been ineffectual on the high school level. School principals, social science teachers and experts in intergroup education stated almost unanimously that the pamphlets were too difficult even for juniors and seniors. Two New York principals expressed the belief that only the 50 per cent of the students with the highest scholastic aptitude would be able to comprehend the pamphlets. They criticized specifically the frequent use of difficult words not found in the average vocabulary, the too long sentences, the lack of concrete examples and of pictures. They thought that the appearance of the pamphlets would not create sufficient incentive toward reading, would not appeal. Several teachers contended that today's high school student will not read books unless they are attractively covered and amply illustrated.

Criticism was extended even toward the popular condensation of three pamphlets appearing under the title *What is Race?* One principal known for his work in intergroup education stated that the children would not be able to see the connexion between the exposition of the Mendelian laws taking up the greater part of this pamphlet and racial differences let alone the problem of prejudice and tension in their everyday lives.

To obtain some scientific measure concerning the difficulties presented by the pamphlets the Flesch Reading Index was applied to all pamphlets used in the study. By measuring sentence and word length one arrives at a score which expresses the amount of education necessary to comprehend a given reading matter and indicates the proportion of persons in the United States who may be able to benefit from it.

The analysis indicated that two pamphlets, *Race and Culture* and *Racial Myths*, can be read successfully only by persons who have completed college or are near completion. *Race and Psychology* and *Race and Biology* present no difficulties for the average college sophomore.

TABLE I Readability of Six Unesco Pamphlets

| Score range Flesch Index | School grade required for comprehension | Percentage of population able to be read from reading level | Pamphlet score in order of increasing difficulty |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|
| 90-100 | 5th | 93 | <i>Roots of Prejudice</i> 48 |
| 80-90 | 6th | 91 | <i>What is Race?</i> 46 |
| 70-80 | 7th | 88 | <i>Race and Biology</i> 37 |
| 60-70 | 8-9th | 83 | <i>Race and Psychology</i> 34 |
| 50-60 | 10-12th (high school) | 54 | <i>Racial Myths</i> 18 |
| 30-50 | 13-16th (college) | 33 | <i>Race and Culture</i> 16 |
| 0-30 | Completed college | 5 | |

Roots of Prejudice and *What is Race?* the popular version mainly of *Race and Biology* can be comprehended by a majority of those who have completed high school. Four of the pamphlets are thus useful in American colleges and

answers and hence have to guess. The nature of the guesses is presumed to be indicative of their attitudes. The items included questions concerning the proportion of Negroes in the USA in 1900 and 1950, the average income figures for various ethnic groups, the proportion of Negroes with mental diseases. It is thought that overestimates of the growth of the Negro population or of the income of Jews is related to prejudice.

As in most projective tests of this sort the disguise is not perfect and it may be possible to detect the intent of the questions. To some extent the nature of the guesses will also be related to information. The prejudiced person may know that prejudiced individuals are easily inclined to overrate the income of people they dislike or may in some rare instances even have learned the answers to our questions. Hence it appeared important to validate our projective questionnaire.

A first approach consisted in keeping information constant to ascertain whether the relationship found between our open prejudice scale and the projective test would disappear. In the latter case the projective test would have measured information exclusively rather than attitudes.

TABLE 2 Relationship of Prejudice Scores Measured by an Open Attitude Test and a Projective Test of Prejudice for Informed and Uninformed Readers of the Pamphlet *Roots of Prejudice*

| Prejudice Test | Prejudice Index | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|------|--------|------|------------|------|
| | Well informed | | Medium | | Uninformed | |
| | Low | High | Low | High | Low | High |
| Low | 37 / | 38 / | | | | |
| Medium | 34 | 36 | 34 / | 22 | 31 / | 29 |
| High | 29 | 2 | 33 / | 45 / | 39 / | 29 |
| | | | 33 | 33 | 28 / | 42 / |
| N | 44 | 47 | 36 | 51 | 20 | 35 |

No significant difference in projective scores between those who had scored low and those who scored high on the initial test occurred among those who were generally well informed on our subject matter. The high prejudice index appears to do slightly better than the less prejudiced. They may have seen through the intent of the disguised projective test and being well informed were able to give the correct answers. Significant relations however existed among those who were less well informed. Apparently this type of projective test works better among relatively uninformed individuals. Presumably the open attitude test is not conclusive because prejudiced persons who live in a society which fosters upon race bias may tend to hide their real feelings. We should therefore not rely solely upon the doubtful undisguised attitude test to validate our disguised test.

Previous research indicated a relationship between character and ethnic prejudice. The California F scale for the measurement of the democratic authoritarian character structure can therefore be used to validate the

of new information but was useful also for ascertaining how well matched control and experimental groups were.

To study gains in information and understanding all groups were given knowledge and understanding tests after a period of four weeks. During this time the experimental groups were asked to read the pamphlets *Comparisons* between the experimental and control groups established the amount of learning which took place.

The Montclair and NYU students were asked to read all five pamphlets in the original Unesco series and given slightly more time for reading Kent and Wisconsin upon request of their instructors were exposed to only three pamphlets *Roots of Prejudice*, *Race and Psychology* and *Race and Culture*. The Upsala students read *Roots of Prejudice*, *Racial Myths* and the popular version of *Race and Biology* entitled *What is Race?*

To measure the effect of the reading upon prejudiced attitudes a disguised test was employed. Research in race relations has shown that students often merely learn to give correct democratic replies to attitude tests rather than experiencing a change of attitude. Moreover the before and after method has the disadvantage that we do not know whether a change of scores in an attitude test given after exposure to the educational material is due to the effect of the material or the result of exposure to a previous attitude test. For this reason changes in attitude were measured by comparing the projective attitude test scores of the experimental and the control groups.

To measure not only changes in general ethnic attitudes but to obtain information concerning the readers' willingness to act upon their attitudes all groups were asked to indicate their willingness to participate in various phases of the Unesco educational programme.

TESTS USED

Both the test on Attitudes toward the United Nations and on Attitudes toward Different Racial and Ethnic Groups consisted almost entirely of fixed alternative questions permitting a score range of 18 and 9 points. The three different tests used to measure increases in information consisted of true false and multiple choice questions. The knowledge tests used to measure the effects of reading the pamphlets *Roots of Prejudice* and *Racial Myth* (with emphasis on the former) as well as the test designed to measure the effects of exposure to *Race and Biology* or *What is Race?* had a total range of 27 score points. The test used to measure the effect of *Race and Psychology* and *Race and Culture* had a total range of 18 points. For purposes of comparison the scores were converted to a percentage scale. A score of 0 points represents correct answers to all questions or a perfect knowledge score. A score of 100 indicates that all questions were answered wrong.

Understanding was measured by asking open ended questions related to the pamphlet content. While the direct answers were not given in the pamphlets the questions could be answered easily if the factual materials given in the pamphlets were absorbed and understood correctly i.e. if the reader was able to generalize from his readings.

The projective test employed consisted of an adaptation of an information test designed by Donald T. Campbell. The students are asked to answer apparent information questions to which they are not likely to know the

answers and hence have to guess. The nature of the guesses is presumed to be indicative of their attitudes. The items included questions concerning the proportion of Negroes in the U.S.A. in 1900 and 1950, the average income for various ethnic groups, the number of Negroes with mental disorders, and the average life expectancy of the Negro population.

As in most disguise is not perfect and it may be possible to detect the intent of the questions. To some extent the nature of the guesses will also be related to information. The prejudiced person may know that prejudiced individuals are easily inclined to overrate the income of people they dislike or may in some rare instances even have learned the answers to our questions. Hence it appeared important to validate our projective questionnaire.

A first approach consisted in keeping information constant to ascertain whether the relationship found between our open prejudice scale and the projective test would disappear. In the latter case the projective test would have measured information exclusively rather than attitudes.

TABLE 2 Relationship of Prejudice Scores Measured by an Open Attitude Test and a Projective Test of Prejudice for Informed and Uninformed Readers of the Pamphlet *Roots of Prejudice*

| Prejudice Test | Well informed | | Prejudiced open listeners | | Uninformed | |
|----------------|---------------|------|---------------------------|------|------------|------|
| | Low | High | Medium | | Low | High |
| | | | Low | High | | |
| Low | 37 / | 38 | 34 / | 22 | 33 / | 29 |
| Medium | 34 | 36 / | 33 / | 45 / | 39 | 29 / |
| High | 29 / | 25 / | 33 / | 33 / | 28 / | 42 |
| N | 44 | 47 | 36 | 51 | 20 | 35 |

No significant difference in projective scores between those who had scored low and those who scored high on the initial test occurred among those who were generally well informed on our subject matter. The high prejudice individuals did even appear to do slightly better than the less prejudiced. They may have seen through the intent of the disguised projective test and being well informed we are able to give the correct answers. Significant relations however existed among those who were less well informed. Apparently this type of projective test works best among relatively uninformed individuals. Presumably the open attitude test is not conclusive because prejudiced persons who live in a society which frowns upon race bias may tend to hide their real feelings. We should therefore not rely solely upon the doubtful undisguised attitude test to validate our disguised test.

Previous research had indicated a relationship between character and ethnic prejudice. The California F scale for the measurement of the democratic authoritarian character structure can therefore be used to validate the

projective attitude scale. The results indicate a correlation between authoritarianism and a high prejudice score on the projective scale which increases our confidence in using the latter test for the measurement of attitude change. Parenthetically there also is the expected correlation between personality as measured by the F scale and attitudes toward the UN.

TABLE 3 Relationship between Character and Prejudice

| Projective test | Character type | | | | Significance |
|------------------|----------------|----------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| | Democratic | Moderate | Conservative | Authoritarian | |
| Low prejudice | 60 / | 36 / | 35 / | 30 / | 2 |
| Medium prejudice | 37 / | 31 / | 31 / | 35 / | 41 |
| High prejudice | 3 / | 33 / | 34 / | 35 / | 37 / |
| No | 30 | 55 | 77 | 59 | 59 |

FACTORS DETERMINING AMOUNT OF READING

How much time did the students actually spend in reading the pamphlets which had been assigned to them? Sixty three per cent of the midwestern students spent more than one hour on each pamphlet as compared to 30 per cent of the eastern subjects. We can attribute this difference partially to the fact that the eastern students had more pamphlets to read and partially to greater pressure exerted by the instructors in the midwestern institutions. In Kent State University some classroom time was allotted to the reading of the pamphlets. From a practical point of view it does not seem advisable to assign more than three pamphlets per term to even relatively highly motivated groups.

Differences in the relative appeal of the pamphlets were indicated by the amount of time devoted to the reading of different pamphlets. Such differences in appeal were particularly marked in our eastern colleges where the pressure toward reading was more in accord with the normal effort usually made by college teachers to have students attend to their assignments. It could not express itself in the middle west not only because fewer pamphlets were assigned but also because there was greater insistence on reading all three of them.

Judging from the amount of time spent in reading *Roots of Prejudice* turned out to be the most popular pamphlet followed closely by the booklet *Racial Myths*. *Race and Biology* turned out to be the least popular pamphlet in spite of the fact that the Uppsala students were permitted to read the illustrated version of *Pace and Biology* appearing in an attractive cover. In the two institutions

tions where *Roots of Prejudice* as well as *Race and Psychology* was assigned the former again appeared to be slightly more popular.

It appears possible that the greater popularity of *Roots of Prejudice* is related to the relative unfamiliarity with its topic. Students had been exposed from their high school days to materials dealing with the content of Klugeberg's pamphlet but not with that of Rose's. Judging from comments *Race and Psychology* was unpopular because it was difficult to see how its content related to the actuality of race relations in the modern world. In attempting to explain differences in appeal, however, we should not overlook the possibility that the ease of readability of *Roots of Prejudice* contributed to its greater popularity.

Particularly in the east where the students had more leisure, the more prejudiced students tended to read less than the rest of the group. But resistance to reading caused by prejudice was by no means uniform. It affected mostly the reading of those pamphlets which had less appeal and as we shall see later operated to minimize gains in information and changes in attitude. *Roots of Prejudice* was read as much if not more so by the more prejudiced than by the less prejudiced. Moreover, the amount of resistance was limited. *Race and Psychology* was still read by 53 per cent of the more prejudiced students.

TABLE 4. Effect of Prejudice on Reading of Selected Pamphlets by Students in Eastern Colleges

| Amount of time spent in reading | <i>Roots of Prejudice</i> | | | <i>Race and Psychology</i> | | | <i>Race and Biology</i> | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|------------|------------|----------------------------|------------|------------|-------------------------|------------|------------|
| | Low prej. | Med. prej. | High prej. | Low prej. | Med. prej. | High prej. | Low prej. | Med. prej. | High prej. |
| No | | | | | | | | | |
| Less than | 2 | 3 | 3 | 23 | 59 | 47 | 4 | 30 | 54 |
| More than | 43 | 42 | 3 | 3 | 23 | 4 | 26 | 28 | 36 |
| More than | 35 | 28 | 4 | 46 | 18 | 12 | 34 | 22 | 10 |

The attitude toward the United Nations also influenced the amount of reading. With the exception of the most prejudiced eastern students, however, a less positive attitude toward the United Nations appeared to make the students more eager to read the pamphlets issued by the organization. They may have been more curious to find out what Unesco had to say in the light of the hostile propaganda which the organization was subjected. We may suspect also that those less favourable toward UN may easily have approached the pamphlets in a more sceptical frame of mind, were less likely to learn from

projective attitude scale. The results indicate a correlation between authoritarianism and a high prejudice score on the projective scale which increases our confidence in using the latter test for the measurement of attitude change. Parenthetically there also is the expected correlation between personality as measured by the F scale and attitudes toward the UN.

TABLE 3 Relationship between Character and Prejudice

| Projective test | Democrat | Character type | | | Significance |
|------------------|----------|----------------|------|------|--------------|
| | | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| Low prejudice | 60 / | 36 / | 35 / | 30 / | 22 / |
| Medium prejudice | 37 / | 31 / | 31 / | 35 / | 41 / |
| High prejudice | 3 / | 33 / | 34 / | 35 / | 37 / |
| No | 30 | 55 | 77 | 59 | 59 |

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improvement in information both in the east and middle west. The change was more pronounced in the east, although as we saw earlier the former did less reading. Perhaps the smaller improvement in the middle west is the result of greater resistance to learning caused by more negative feelings toward UN and greater insistence on reading. A slight improvement resulted from reading the pamphlet *Race and Biology*. While exposure to the pamphlet *Race and Psychology* did not lead to any improvement.

TABLE 6 Gains in Information Resulting from Reading

| Percent of questions answered correctly | Racism / Prejudice & Racial Myths | | | | Race and Psychology & Race and Culture | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|------|-------------|------|--|------|-------------|------|
| | East | | Middle west | | East | | Middle west | |
| | Not read | Read | Not read | Read | Not read | Read | Not read | Read |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Informed | | | | | | | | |
| 8 100 | | | | | | | | |
| 61 80 | | | | | | | | |
| 41 60 | 16 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 30 | | | |
| 21 40 | 52 | 44 | 24 | 25 | 62 | 36 | 44 | |
| Uninformed | 28 | 40 | 35 | 58 | 8 | 49 | 52 | 38 |
| 1 2 | | 10 | 3 | 10 | | 9 | 4 | 60 |
| | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | — | 2 | — | 2 |
| | | | | | | 4 | — | — |

The above analysis is based on a comparison of those not assigned with those asked to read the pamphlets. It is indicative of changes in the group as a whole, not a direct measure of different amounts of reading. To evaluate the effect of different amounts of reading we had to correlate the time spent reading with the amount of information the students had.

The reader may recall that particularly in the east refusal to read may be caused by resistance resulting from prejudice. Our expectation that the non-reader in the experimental group would have a lower score than the unselected population, was borne out by our results.

Particularly in the middle west however those who read extensively knew less than those who had done only some reading. Again this may perhaps be explained in terms of our previous finding that those least friendly toward the United Nations were inclined to read more. They may have read more in order to find fault with the publication, approached the pamphlets with an attitude not conducive to the acquisition of information.

Discussion of the pamphlets was in general slightly more effective than mere reading, and particularly so for the pamphlet *Race and Psychology*. In view of the Unesco objective to contribute to information as well as to combat prejudiced attitudes we asked ourselves whether increases in information may by themselves lead to favourable changes in attitude. The data indicate that our relatively unprejudiced students know substantially more about the causes of prejudice than our more prejudiced students and appear also slightly better informed about the nature of racial differences.

TABLE 5 Students Spending more than One Hour in Reading the Pamphlets by Prejudice and by Attitude toward the United Nations

| Attitudes | Eastern student | | | Midwestern student | | |
|----------------|-----------------|--------|------|--------------------|--------|------|
| | Root | Psych. | C.H. | Root | Psych. | C.H. |
| Low prejudice | / | / | / | / | / | / |
| Pro UN | 36 | 41 | 32 | 60 | 57 | 79 |
| Anti UN | 35 | 46 | 23 | 46 | 46 | 46 |
| | 43 | 54 | 40 | 65 | 60 | 47 |
| High prejudice | 33 | 17 | 18 | 63 | 55 | 74 |
| Pro UN | 35 | 21 | 15 | 36 | 36 | 64 |
| Anti UN | 12 | 0 | 10 | 75 | 62 | 77 |

The tendency of those less favourable toward UN to spend more time in reading is of decided value. It provides Unesco with the opportunity to win followers. This is precisely what happened. We were able to administer the test on attitudes toward the United Nations twice in Kent once before and once after exposure to the pamphlets. The results indicated a more favourable attitude toward UN after the students had read the pamphlets. This result is the more gratifying as Kent is the college which was least friendly toward UN and the institution exerting greatest pressure on reading which might well have led to an increase in resistance. However it remained to be seen to what extent initially negative attitudes toward UN lead to resistance and affect the benefit derived from reading the Unesco pamphlets.

IMPROVEMENT OF KNOWLEDGE

Before we can answer this question we must realize that marked improvements in knowledge concerning the subject matter of the pamphlets can be accomplished only in areas where considerable initial ignorance is found. *Race and Psychology* could be expected to be relatively ineffectual because the students tested were already well informed on the subject matter discussed in that pamphlet. As a result of the highly effective work by Klineberg and other workers in the field the average college student is by now thoroughly familiar with the fact that difference in I.Q. between Negroes and whites are not likely to represent differences in native intelligence but can be attributed to educational and social handicaps. (Parenthetically the students did not seem to be equally well informed about the fact that the higher I.Q. of Jewish students is also not caused by differences in native intelligence.) At least one third of all students who had not read this pamphlet answered 80 per cent or more of all questions correctly. Nineteen out of twenty answered more than 60 per cent of all questions right.

In contrast only one out of five students not exposed to the pamphlets *Roots of Prejudice* and *Racial Myths* was able to answer correctly more than 60 per cent of all questions based on these pamphlets. Exposure to the pamphlet *Roots of Prejudice* led to a considerable

improvement in information both in the east and middle west. The change was more pronounced in the east although as we saw earlier the former did less reading. Perhaps the smaller improvement in the middle west is the result of greater resistance to learning caused by more negative feelings toward UN and greater insistence on reading. A slight improvement resulted from reading the pamphlet *Race and Biology* while exposure to the pamphlet *Race and Psychology* did not lead to any improvement.

TABLE 6 Gains in Information Resulting from Reading

| Percent of questions answered correctly | Race & Psychology & Race & Culture | | | | Race and Psychology & Race and Culture | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|------|-------------|------|--|------|-------------|------|
| | East | | Middle west | | East | | Middle west | |
| | Not read | Read | Not read | Read | Not read | Read | Not read | Read |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| Informed | | | | | | | | |
| 8-100 | | | | | | | | |
| 6-80 | | | | | | | | |
| 41-60 | 16 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 30 | 36 | 44 | 38 |
| 21-40 | 52 | 44 | 24 | 25 | 62 | 49 | 52 | 60 |
| Uninformed | 28 | 40 | 35 | 58 | 8 | 9 | 4 | 2 |
| 2 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | — | 4 | — | — |

The above analysis is based on a comparison of those not assigned with the task of reading the pamphlets. It is indicative of changes in the group as a whole not a direct measure of different amounts of reading. To evaluate the effect of different amounts of reading we had to correlate the time spent reading with the amount of information the students had.

The reader may recall that particularly in the east refusal to read may be caused by resistance resulting from prejudice. Our expectation that the non-reader in the experimental group would have a lower score than the unselected non-reader in the control group representing a cross section of the study population was borne out by our results.

Particularly in the middle west however those who read extensively knew less than those who had done only some reading. Again this may perhaps be explained in terms of our previous finding that those least friendly toward the United Nations were inclined to read more. They may have read more in order to find fault with the publication approached the pamphlets with an attitude not conducive to the acquisition of information.

Discussion of the pamphlets was in general slightly more effective than mere reading and particularly so for the pamphlet *Race and Psychology*. Increases in information may be judged by the fact that our more prejudiced students know substantially more about the causes of prejudice than our more prejudiced students and appear also slightly better informed about the nature of racial differences.

TABLE 5 Students Spending more than One Hour in Reading the Pamphlets by Prejudice and by Attitude toward the United Nations

| Attitudes | Eastern student | | | Midwestern student | | |
|----------------|-----------------|-------|-------|--------------------|-------|-------|
| | Root | Psych | Cult. | Root | Psych | Cult. |
| Low prejudice | / | / | / | / | / | / |
| Pro UN | 36 | 41 | 32 | 60 | 57 | 79 |
| Anti UN | 35 | 46 | 3 | 46 | 46 | 46 |
| High prejudice | 43 | 54 | 40 | 65 | 60 | 47 |
| Pro UN | 33 | 17 | 18 | 63 | 55 | 74 |
| Anti UN | 35 | 21 | 15 | 36 | 36 | 64 |
| | 12 | 0 | 10 | 75 | 62 | 77 |

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In contrast only one out of five students not exposed to the pamphlets *Roots of Prejudice* and *Racial Myths* was able to answer correctly more than 60 per cent of all questions based on these pamphlets.

Exposure to the pamphlet *Pools of Prejudice* led to a considerable

they labour under discrimination, work under unfavourable conditions and suffer from inadequate education. They had learned that prejudice is a form of scapegoating which protects the ego of the prejudiced who projects his own undesirable characteristics upon the minority. They gained insight into the manner in which prejudice serves as a crutch for the prejudiced ego gives him a false feeling of superiority and stifles his ambition. They saw how prejudice prevents the majority member from solving his own problems because he attributes his own failure to others.

While we noted that *Race and Psychology* did little to improve knowledge it nevertheless helped to a moderate extent to create a better understanding of the reasons for the differences between racial and ethnic groups. This was particularly so in the middle west where the students reading the pamphlets had begun to understand that the high Jewish I.Q. resulted from the group's traditional emphasis on intellectual pursuits and constituted an attempt to compensate for the handicap of discrimination.

While some discussion groups did slightly better than classes which only read the pamphlets much appeared to depend upon the ability of the teacher to direct the discussion pointing to the need of adding a discussion guide to accompany the series. Altogether however the effect of the pamphlets on understanding was not as marked and clear cut as the improvement achieved in the answers to the factual information questions.

CHANGING ATTITUDES

To what extent if any did the gain in information and understanding lead to a change of attitude? Comparing the students who were asked to read the pamphlets with those not assigned them we find a small though statistically not reliable change.

Because our midwestern control group was initially slightly more prejudiced than those midwesterners who were exposed to the pamphlets we decided to compare separately all subjects who had a high initial prejudice. In this manner we were able to eliminate the error introduced by inadequate match in We then find that the changes registered for the total sample represent

TABLE 8 Changes in Attitudes as a Result of Exposure to the Unesco Pamphlets as Measured in the Projective Test

| Project scores (after test) | Total sample | | High prejudice initial | |
|--------------------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| | Control | Experimental | Control | Experimental |
| Low prejudice | 9 | 35 / | | |
| Medium prejudice | 35 / | 34 / | 21 / | 34 / |
| High prejudice | 36 / | 3 / | 4 | 34 / |
| N | 62 | 220 | 39 / | 32 / |
| Difference significant | | | 37 | 122 |
| per cent level | | | | |

TABLE 7 Information by Prejudice

| Percent of total sample correctly | Information | | Racial Differences (Racial Psychology) | |
|--------------------------------------|---|----------------|---|----------------|
| | Causes of Prejudice (Roots of Prejudice) | High Prejudice | Low Prejudice | High Prejudice |
| | Low Prejudice | High Prejudice | | |
| Informed | / | / | / | / |
| 81 100 | 6 | 0 | 42 | 30 |
| 61 80 | 28 | 17 | 48 | 67 |
| 41 60 | 45 | 38 | 10 | 3 |
| 21 40 | 21 | 40 | — | — |
| Uninformed | — | 5 | — | — |
| 1 0 | | | | |

This relation between high prejudice and low information however may be interpreted in different ways. An increase in information concerning the causes of prejudice and the nature of racial differences may lead to a decrease of prejudice. On the other hand it is also possible that the less prejudiced students tend to expose themselves more to information concerning these subjects. They also may approach readings providing new information more with an open mind may be more willing to accept the message than more prejudiced individuals.

It is most likely that both statements are correct. To the extent that there are individuals who do not have personal (quasi neurotic) needs to maintain their prejudice or are not exposed to very strong pressure toward the maintenance of prejudice to that extent can information help to reduce prejudiced attitudes.

UNDERSTANDING

There is evidence that the pamphlets not only contributed to information but were able to deepen the students' understanding of the causes of apparent differences between racial groups. Among others the readers of the pamphlets *Roots of Prejudice* and *Racial Myths* were asked: How do you explain that Negroes are found to be often less productive and ambitious than whites? How does prejudice benefit the majority member? Why is prejudice psychologically harmful to the prejudiced individual?

These questions were asked not only to probe the depth of their understanding but also because we thought that the ability to understand these issues correctly would provide them with an incentive to more enlightened action. It was therefore encouraging to find that those exposed to the pamphlets were more often able to give an answer and gave a correct answer more often.

Particularly in the most prejudiced college the readers of the Unesco booklets had begun to understand that Negroes are less ambitious because

they labour under discrimination, work under unfavourable conditions and suffer from inadequate education. They had learned that prejudice is a form of scapegoating which protects the ego of the prejudiced who projects his own undesirable characteristics upon the minority. They gained insight into the manner in which prejudice serves as a crutch for the prejudiced ego gives him a false feeling of superiority and stifles his ambition. They saw how prejudice prevents the majority member from solving his own problems because he attributes his own failure to others.

While we noted that *Race and Psychology* did little to improve knowledge it nevertheless helped to a moderate extent to create a better understanding of the reasons for the differences between racial and ethnic groups. This was particularly so in the middle west where the students reading the pamphlets had begun to understand that the high Jewish I Q resulted from the group's traditional emphasis on intellectual pursuits and constituted an attempt to compensate for the handicap of discrimination.

While some discussion groups did slightly better in reading the pamphlets much more clear cut as the improvement achieved to direct the discussion accompany the series understanding was not in the answers to the factual information questions.

CHANGING ATTITUDES

To what extent if any did the gain in information and understanding lead to a change of attitude? Comparing the students who were asked to read the pamphlets with those not assigned them we find a small though statistically not reliable change.

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TABLE 8 Changes in Attitudes as a Result of Exposure to the Unesco Pamphlets as Measured in the Projective Test

| Projective scores (after test) | Total sample | | High prejudice on initial test | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| | Control | Experimental | Control | Experimental |
| | | | | |
| Low prejudice | 29 | 35 | | |
| Medium prejudice | 3 / | 31 / | 21 / | 34 / |
| High prejudice | 36 / | 31 / | 40 | 31 / |
| N | 62 | 220 | 39 | 32 / |
| Difference significant | | | 37 | 122 |
| 3 per cent level | | | | |

TABLE 7 Information by Prejudice

| Percent correctly answered | Information | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|-------------------|---|-------------------|
| | Causes of prejudice (Roots of Prejudice) | | Racial differences (Racial Psychology) | |
| | Low prejudice | High prejudice | Low prejudice | High prejudice |
| Informed | / | | / | |
| 81 100 | 6 | 0 | 42 | 30 |
| 61 80 | 28 | 17 | 48 | 67 |
| 41 60 | 45 | 38 | 10 | 3 |
| 21 40 | 21 | 40 | — | — |
| Uninformed | — | | — | |
| 1 20 | — | 5 | — | — |

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they labour under discrimination, work under unfavourable conditions and suffer from inadequate education. They had learned that prejudice is a form of scapegoating which protects the ego of the prejudiced by his own undesirable characteristics upon his own manner in a false manner. In this manner, he is a false person.

prejudice person because he is

his own failure to others in solving his own problems

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While some discussion groups did slightly better than classes which only read the pamphlets much appeared to depend upon the ability of the teacher to direct the discussion pointing to the need of adding a discussion guide to accompany the series. Altogether however the effect of the pamphlets on understanding was not as marked and clear cut as the improvement achieved in the answers to the factual information questions.

CHANGING ATTITUDES

To what extent if any did the gain in information and understanding lead to a change of attitude? Comparing the students who were asked to read the pamphlets with those not assigned them we find a small though statistically not reliable change.

Because our midwestern control group was initially slightly more prejudiced than those midwesterners who were exposed to the pamphlets we decided to compare separately all subjects who had a high initial prejudice. In this manner we were able to eliminate the error introduced by inadequate matching. We then find that the changes registered for the total sample represents

TABLE 8 Changes in Attitudes as a Result of Exposure to the Unesco Pamphlets as Measured in the Projective Test

| Projective scores (after test) | Total sample | | High prejudice on initial tests | |
|--------------------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------------------|--------------|
| | Control | Experimental | Control | Experimental |
| | | | | |
| Low prejudice | 29 / | 35 / | 21 | 34 / |
| Medium prejudice | 35 | 34 | 40 | 34 |
| High prejudice | 36 / | 31 / | 39 / | 32 |
| N | 62 | 220 | 37 | 122 |
| Difference significant | | | | |
| per cent level | | | | |

an underestimate. Our projective test indicates a significant shift in the direction of a reduction of prejudice particularly in the originally more prejudiced group.

The earlier discussion on the validity of the projective information test indicates that the test is more likely to be valid for the more prejudiced individuals. These subjects are usually less well informed and hence less likely to guess the correct answer on our test. Moreover, we are actually more certain about the initial attitudes of those scoring high in the initial attitude test. This group consists of persons who are more prejudiced and willing to admit their biases. Individuals who score low on the original test may either be genuinely less prejudiced or more highly prejudiced but unwilling to admit it and perhaps even unaware of their own prejudice.

While changes in information were smaller in the middle west than in the east, we nevertheless find that even the midwestern group experienced a reduction of prejudice after reading the pamphlets. Although the change in the direction of more positive attitudes is twice as great in the east as in the middle west, it is gratifying to note that a change occurred in spite of the strong resistance of the more prejudiced western readers.

Deeply ingrained attitudes are generally hardly changed by a single exposure to a series of educational pamphlets. Moreover, there is some residual doubt as to the accuracy with which our projective test measures change. For these reasons, we had supplemented the projective scale with a questionnaire indicating the student's willingness to participate in the Unesco educational effort. It is more reasonable to expect specific changes relating to the expressed willingness to support a given programme than general changes.

Moreover, if the willingness to support the Unesco programme expressed by the students had been acted upon, larger changes might have resulted not only because the participants would have been occupied with the race problem for a longer time, but also because larger numbers of people could have been reached. Finally, this type of scale measuring the action or motivational component of attitudes is often considered as more significant than scales aiming at expressions of feeling and the cognitive component of attitudes.

TABLE 9. Effect of Exposure to Pamphlets on Willingness to Co-operate in the Unesco Educational Programme

| Willing to | East | | Middle west | | | |
|--------------------|---------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| | T 1 | | T + 1 | | High school | |
| | Control | Experimental | Control | Experimental | Control | Experimental |
| Vote for pamphlets | 37 / | 77 / | 64 ° | 81 / | 69 ° | 65 |
| Join committee | 24 | 51 / | 50 / | 41 ° | 50 | 34 |
| Lead discussions | 9 | 35 / | 44 ° | 31 | 42 | 24 |
| Give money | 26 ° | 58 / | 48 | 65 | 54 ° | 46 |
| Help research | 33 ° | 64 / | 54 / | 67 | 50 | 64 |
| No | 46 | 138 | 50 | 106 | 26 | 41 |

Exposure to the pamphlets considerably increased the students' willingness to aid in the Unesco intergroup relations programme. For example 37 per cent of the students in the control group were willing to give money to help the Unesco educational programme compared to 61 per cent of those in classes asked to read the pamphlets. The proportion of students willing to give time to work on the research programme increased by 20 per cent. The percentage of those who were willing to support a more persuasive college make the pamphlets required reading in introductory social science courses by 8 per cent.

The smallest change occurred in regard to the students' willingness to act as discuss on leaders for high school or college groups designed to improve race relations. Differences in personality may furnish an explanation. Many students may not feel equipped to lead discussions, may be afraid to be in the limelight.

The change again was greater among the less prejudiced students and more pronounced in the east than in the middle west. The highly prejudiced and western students exposed to the pamphlets were decidedly less willing to help in the programme than those not exposed to the Unesco material. They were however willing to aid in the research programme perhaps in order to find out what is wrong with the programme. The reversal of the trend among the more highly prejudiced midwestern students becomes understandable if we recall that this group also contained the largest number of students having a less positive attitude toward the United Nations. In contrast we find in the east both among the less prejudiced and the high prejudice group a great willingness to support the programme resulting from exposure to the pamphlets.

One may expect that the effect of the pamphlets on our midwestern sample would have been more favorable if less pressure had been employed to make them read the material and perhaps if the introductions to the study had been done by persons more familiar with the work of Unesco and more in sympathy with the project. The more widespread resistance of the midwestern readers diminished the effectiveness of the booklets compared with our eastern sample. On the other hand it is important to remark in conclusion that even here apart from a reduction in prejudice the exposure to the pamphlets and the study had made students more familiar with the work of Unesco and created more favorable attitudes toward the organization.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

Educational publications can be effective only if they reach their audience. It would have been of interest for Unesco to know how many and what type of students in terms of social and ethnic background, racial attitudes and attitudes toward UN would have read the pamphlets if they were deposited in college libraries but not assigned as required reading.

In view of the results of the high school study and continuing widespread resistance toward the use of Unesco materials it would be desirable to ascertain from a cross-section of school and college administrators how many are now or would be willing in the future to make use of Unesco material generally and the pamphlet series on race more specifically. At the same time one could also study how many administrators are familiar with the series. Providing

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| Willingness | Before | | After | | Total | |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Vote for pamphlets | 37 ^a | 77 | 61 ^a | 81 | 69 | 81 |
| Join committee | 21 | 51 | 50 | 41 | 50 ^a | 34 |
| Lead discussions | 9 | 35 | 41 | 31 | 42 | 24 |
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them with copies of the pamphlet one may also find out to what extent these pamphlets meet their needs appear to them as useful either for classroom assignments or as reference material for teachers. To the extent that the pamphlets are designed as reference material for teachers and other intergroup relations leaders a parallel study of audience reactions of a small cross section of influential leaders in different countries determining their needs and the extent to which the pamphlets meet their needs would be valuable.

Today's college students represent a highly selected audience in so far as they have had a greater amount of education in race relations and about race differences and have been exposed more recently. The effect of the pamphlets may therefore be expected to be greater among an older adult public capable of comprehending the material but not equally saturated with education in the field of intergroup relations thus being unfamiliar with much material known to the students.

On the other hand the students living in the more liberal atmosphere of the college are under less pressure to maintain and express traditional prejudices. Hence there may well be more resistance to change outside the college. It may be of value therefore to study the impact of the pamphlets on adult groups of different educational backgrounds living in more or less prejudiced areas of the country.

Of even greater interest would be a repetition of this study outside the United States and not only because there is reason to believe that students in other countries are less familiar with materials presented in the Unesco series than American students. There is considerable evidence that exposure to mere factual information concerning racial differences has little effect on improving prejudiced attitudes in the United States (It is not yet known however to what extent information concerning the causes of prejudice and the harm it does to the prejudiced individual would change attitudes.) Not only are there psychological reasons for the maintenance of prejudiced attitudes but social pressures in a highly discriminatory society often prevent substantial changes in opinions and behaviour.

We do not yet know whether prejudice is used in other countries to the same extent in order to bolster up a weak ego. We do not know whether we would find abroad the same correlation between authoritarian character structure and prejudice. To the extent that these correlations may be absent or weaker to that extent would education against prejudice have a greater chance in other countries.

Europeans experience less social pressure toward the maintenance of racial prejudices. Most European countries have none or only numerically small racial minorities. There may be a greater tendency to release repressed hostility in other directions toward other classes of one's own society or toward other nations. For these reasons alone education through the dissemination of information is expected to be more successful. There is reason to believe that in the pamphlets, for example, information is drawn from an influencing

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public opinion in regard to international relations.

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concerning racial differences in Europe would be less important from an internal domestic point of view it would be valuable as a factor influencing public opinion in regard to international relations.

Owing to the present circumstances in Indonesia it has proved in practice quite difficult to undertake any new research projects there.¹

THE RESEARCH CENTER IN ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL CHANGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The centre was established in the autumn of 1951. Its main function is to serve as a clearing house of ideas in an area of the social sciences contributions in which are made by many specialists who often have no or little direct contact with each other. With this objective in mind the centre publishes under the editorship of Mr R. R. Wohl a journal *Economic Development and Cultural Change* which appears five times a year and which is distributed to social scientists in different fields of specialization in many countries both advanced and underdeveloped. The centre also maintains

In addition to these co-ordinating and co-operative activities which bring it into contact with persons and institutions outside the University of Chicago, the centre carries on a series of research projects of its own. One project, under the general direction of Mr B F Hoselitz, deals with the attempt to evaluate and compare theories of economic development with a view to obtaining more unified positions in this field. Another project, concerned with the study of mobilization and primitive population to industrial labour

This project involves comparative studies of factors located in several underdeveloped countries including a careful study of the composition, forms of recruitment, habits of work, income and consumption patterns and other features of the labour force. A third project under the general direction of Mr. R. I. C. is concerned with

of the World Bank the Colombo Plan and the five year plan of the Government of India have been critically examined. In addition to these studies which are in progress several other studies are projected e.g. one on the relations between differential land-ownership systems and the process of economic development in selected lesser developed regions under the direction of Mr N. S. Ginsburg, another on the labour problem in Mexico under the direction of Mr S. Rottenberg and a project on the development of a managerial class and labour management relations in Egypt under the direction of Mr F. H. Harbison.

The publication of all the studies currently in progress is contemplated. They will

The thirty-second issue of the State periodical *Culture of Newer Indonesia* 933 (C) 1961 News contains more than 600 book and articles published since 1945 in Dutch, English, French and German concerning cultural, social, economic and political aspects of Indonesia.

ORGANIZATION REVIEW & ANNOUNCEMENTS

appear either as separate monographs or as articles. Some of the more important will be published in the research centre journal either as articles or in the form of special numbers. The rates for subscriptions for this period are £2 50 for schools and students and £4 for libraries and institutions.

THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Department of Sociology under the Faculty of Political Science offers a program of courses leading to the degrees of master of arts and doctor of philosophy. A large number of research methods, social theory and statistics are required of all candidates. The remainder of each student's courses may be selected from fields of study meeting his particular interests.

It is the judgment of the department that with the present-day complexity of sociology it is essential that the graduate department should focus on the study of the field. Consequently the curriculum focuses on several selected areas of sociology which the peculiarities of its members (e.g. demography, methodology, political sociology, population and mass communications, social theory) and omits other traditional sociological subjects (e.g. criminology, delinquency, industrial sociology). Graduate courses are selected special lectures given by Professors Edmund D. S. Brunner, William C. Casey, Kingsley Davis, William J. Goode, Herbert H. Hyman, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Seymour M. Lipset, Robert S. Lynd, Robert K. Merton, C. Wright Mills and Lee M. Wiggers.

By a design this program of instruction is closely linked with that of research both through regular graduate seminars and through the work of the research arm of the department—the Bureau of Applied Social Research, of which Dr. Charles J. Glock is director. The Bureau utilizes the services of members of the teaching staff and maintains research staffs in various departments engaged in research in social behaviour, criminology, and sociology. (A list of publications of the Bureau is available.)

At least three of the current projects of the Bureau bear directly upon the problems of economic development and cultural patterns in technological change with particular reference to underdeveloped areas. These studies now in progress are: (1) The process of mass communication in the Middle East; (2) The process of development in the world's underdeveloped countries; (3) The process of development in the world's underdeveloped countries. The first of these studies is concerned with the problem of social development in the world's underdeveloped countries. The second is concerned with the problem of social development in the world's underdeveloped countries. The third is concerned with the problem of social development in the world's underdeveloped countries.

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It is the judgment of the department that, with the present-day complexity of sociology, it is feasible for the graduate department to teach all the subfields of sociology. Consequently the curriculum focuses on several selected areas of sociology which are the specialties of its members (e.g. demography, methodology, political sociology, public opinion and mass communications, social theory) and omits other traditional sociological subjects (e.g. criminology, delinquency, industrial sociology). Graduate courses in the selected specialties are given by Professors Edmund S. Brunner, William C. Cosey, Kingsley Davis, William J. Goode, Herbert H. Hyman, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Seymour M. Lipset, Robert S. Lynd, Robert K. Merton, C. Wright Mills and Leif M. Wiggins.

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At least three of the current projects of the Bureau bear directly upon the problems of economic development and cultural pattern. These studies in world literacy, world mass communication, and the Middle East project would interrelate with the development of alliteracy, communication, and world banization.

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THE RESEARCH CENTER IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL CHANGE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The center
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journal
which is distributed to social scientists in different fields of
countries both advanced and undeveloped
by its members
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also occasionally sponsors conferences on the
example from 24 to 26 May 1961
on the subject of
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contact
carried out
of Mr. H. H. H. Wohl
economic development
and generally theoretical propositions in this field. Another project
also directed by Mr. H. H. H. Wohl is concerned with the study of mobilization and
ultimate self-commitment of a peasant or primitive population to industrial labour.
This project involves comparative studies of factories in
developed countries including
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The center
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of the World Bank, the Colombo Plan and the five year plan of the Government of
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given to the study of technological changes. This research is shortly to be published as a book.

The third major project of the bureau which bears on underdeveloped countries is recent research on mass communications and the purpose of this research is to study the behaviour in a

the differential roles of mass media among various segments of the population will be described and analysed. The project is under the direction of Mr. Paul L. Berkman of the bureau and Dr. Daniel Lerner and Mrs. Lucille Pevsner of the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Results are to be published in a book early in 1955.

In addition to these three projects on selected aspects of economic and social development, members of the department are currently engaged in other researches, notably in methodology, occupations and professions, and political sociology.

THE COLOMBIAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY

Calle 74 No. 1189 Bogotá

The Colombian Institute of Sociology was founded at the end of 1950 by Professor Rafael Bernal Jiménez under the auspices of the Ministry of National Education following the agreement reached by Latin American delegates at the International Congress of Sociology which met at Zurich during the same year. The study centres should be set up in the following areas:

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The study of sociology in Colombia and to countries where those being carried out in other South American

At the beginning of 1952 the institute agreed on a plan of related fields: a seminar on

environment, the determination of social progress and the

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and laws
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areas

Broter Gastá Thomaz d'Almeida and Aparecida Joly Gouveia Cabalo (O comércio da Costa do Marfim Figueiredo Naltia Rodrigues Bittencourt and Arthur da Mota Costa) Piaçabussu (Alceu Mynard de Araújo José Vicente Cardozo and Noêmia P. de Toledo) Pompeu (Esdra Borges Costa) A economia do Vale do São Francisco (The São Francisco Valley economy) (Do Trabalho Produtivo da Indústria no Brasil (The Productivity of Industry in Brazil) (Nuno F. de Figueiredo, Jaime M. de B. Bal and O. de Figueiredo)

the balance of payments) O comércio dos produtos internacionais (The international trade)

Estudo estatístico da concentração da indústria no Brasil e no Estado de São Paulo (Statistical study of the concentration of industry in Brazil and in the State of São Paulo) Estudo estatístico da concentração da indústria Municipal de São Paulo (Statistical study of the concentration of industry in the Municipality of São Paulo)

Alguns aspectos da problemática da produtividade (Some aspects of the productivity problem) prepared by Professor Nuno F. de Figueiredo and Ind. e P. no mercado exterior do Brasil (Price indexes in Brazil foreign trade) by Professor Hélio Schlittler da Silva

THE INSTITUTE FOR THE COMPARISON AND RAPPROCHEMENT OF THE VARIOUS BODIES OF EUROPEAN LAW

Faculty of Law and Economic Sciences Saar University Saarbrücken

A university institute for the comparison and rapprochement of the various bodies of European Law has been set up in connexion with the Saar University Faculty of Law and Economic Sciences

In keeping with the international vocation of the Saar University the institute is also a centre of exchange and comparison of law

Comparisons between the
the countries of eastern
the supranational European
Several institutions have

and thus then

of Northern Ireland the main publicly owned industries and many local government authorities and hospital authorities

The institute has regional groups in the United Kingdom and Australia. It is also the British National Section of the International Institute of Administrative Science.

The institute's activities include:

The

year 1

contribution

During 1953 the institute has developed its research programme and has initiated a series of major research studies carried out by study groups each assisted by a full time research worker. The first two of these studies are on changes in the structure of executive government since 1914 and alternative sources of local revenue. The reports will be published in due course.

A series of books on Government departments is in preparation on the following operation. The volumes on *Home Office* and *Foreign Office*.

Other current

committee system

negotiating machinery

Recent publications have included *Introduction to French Local Government* (by Brian Chapman) and *Staff Reporting* (by E. Anstey and Isabel Menzies) and symposia on *Financial Control of Its Place in Management*, *Large Scale Operations* and *United Kingdom Administration*.

The

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Other

support

SÃO PAULO SCHOOL OF SOCIOLOGY

In May 1954 the School of Sociology and Politics in São Paulo, Brazil, completed the twenty first year of its existence. Founded in 1933 by a group of scholars, it defined its aim as the renewal of the teaching staffs of the country and the study and social scientific investigation of the

independence

and political

Ministry

To this end the school decided to establish itself in its own quarters. The new building is situated at 522 General Jardim Street, São Paulo.

It affords excellent conditions for carrying on the

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Professors: Dr. Natalina Rodrigues, Dr. Cândido Altenfelder, Dr. Ivã Maria Galvão Cardoso, Dr. Cândido Procopio F. de Camargo, Dr. Correntina Levy Cruz, Dr. Frederico B. Barros.

ORGANIZATION REVIEWS ANNOUNCEMENTS

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INSTITUTE OF WORLD AFFAIRS

66 Fifth Avenue New York

The Institute of World Affairs founded in 1943 is the research division of the New School for Social Research an institution of adult education on both the graduate and the undergraduate level. The purpose of the institute is to serve as a research centre for members of the New School faculties and also for other scholars who are drawn to the school by the strongly international character of its interests and its personnel.

One of the principal activities of the institute is the study of present-day European problems. A major study on religion in Germany today is now completed by the end of 1955) under study in Germany by Dr. Maye and European problems include *Federalism*

Prussia by Arnold Brecht
in the Rhineland 1918-19
Broadcasts during the 1939-1945 by Joseph
by Ben

industry and Agriculture

works on the new German constitution and on economic problems. Another aspect of the institute's activity concerns problems connected with industrialization. Publications include *Industrial Development* by Wilbert E. Moore, *Editorial Aspects of Economic Development* by Ernest Hamburger and occasional

major work based on years of study in which the tools of econometric analysis are used to examine the effect that fluctuations of income in the leading industrial countries exert upon the size and composition of industrial and non-industrial countries' imports and exports.

The institute has conducted a number of technical investigations for various govern

ORGANIZATION REVIEWS ANNOUNCEMENT

ment genres. These have been primarily in the field of communication and content analysis.

The institute is interested in problems attending on the analysis of national character and culture—includ- ing studies of specific communities especially in proportion of foreign born population and studies on the social attitudes and new groups forward under both the

writing and the

world war industry

In collaboration with the Graduate Faculty of the New School the institute has established special workshops for training in the methods and problems of research in both theoretical and practical level. One such workshop is concentrated on economic research another on the fast developing field of sociological investigation and analysis.

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which would arise from the integration of the European States in supranational communities

The institute and the research sections are under a joint permanent co operation of research

the being created the scientific bodies throughout

INSTITUTE OF WORLD AFFAIRS

66 Fifth Avenue New York

The Institute of World Affairs founded in 1943 is the research division of the New School for Social Research an institution of adult education on both the graduate and the undergraduate level The purpose of the institute is to serve as a research centre for members of the New School faculties and also for other scholars who are drawn to the school by the strongly international character of its interests and its personnel

One of the principal activities of the institute is the study of present-day European problems A major study on religion in Germany today is now in process (to be completed by the end of 1955) under the direction of Carl Mayer based on extensive study in Germany by Dr Mayer and three assistants Published works dealing with European problems include *Federalism and Regionalism in Germany* The Division of Prussia by Arnold Brecht *Military Occupation and the Role of Law* *Occupation Government in the Rhineland 1918-1923* by Ernst Fraenkel *German Radio Propaganda Report on Home Broadcasts during the War* by Ernst K and Hans Speier *European Population Transfers 1939-1945* by Joseph H Schechtman

Industry and Agriculture by Feiler and Jacob Ehrmann In shorter

the new German constitution and on German economic problems Another aspect of the institute's activity concerns problems connected with industrialization Publications include *Industrialization and Labor* *Social Impact of Economic Development* by Wilbert E Moore *Education of an Industrial A* Ernest Hamburger and others

major work based on years of study by Hans Neisser and Franco Modigliani to examine the effect that fluctuations of income in the leading industrial countries exert upon the structure and composition of industrial and non industrial countries imports and exports

The institute has conducted a number of technical investigations for various govern

Review of International Statistics 26 February 1954, 38 p E/CN.3/170

[S.] A general review of the development of statistics throughout the world (E/CN.3/148) was presented to the seventh session of the Commission. The above paper gives an account of progress since that date and dwells in particular on work relating to the preparation and application of statistical standards for the improvement of international comparability.

Indices of Quantity and Unit Value for External Trade 4 February 1954, 6 p E/CN.3/171
[Sc. Pr.] Improvement of the international comparability of indexes of quantity and unit value. General review of the problem and the Commission's recommendations.

4 February 1954, 6 p E/CN.3/175

Index numbers of wholesale
trading etc. nominal analysis

Social Statistics 11 February 1954, 14 p E/CN.3/178

[Sc.] In response to a request by the Economic and Social Council the Secretary General made a study of conditions conducive to the development of the various branches of social statistics: social statistics, distribution of income and wealth, permeability of social classes, conditions of work and employment, special aspects of the rural welfare, social security, family living standards and protection of the family, health problems, nutrition, housing, protection of children, assistance to the aged and physically handicapped persons, social expenditure.

to *Economic Statistics* 7 p (plus corrigendum and

Annotated List of International Standards for Statistics 16 February 1954, 31 p E/CN.3/181

[Sc. P.] An annotated list of the concepts and definitions, methods and principles of statistical classification as set forth in international conventions together with the final rules and recommendations adopted by the competent bodies of international organizations.

Progress Report: Balance of Payments Statistics 4 March 1954, 9 p E/CN.3/182

[Sc.] Work on this subject carried out by the International Monetary Fund in 1953. The annex contains brief description of the fifth volume of the balance of payments yearbook. The form in which the Fund balance of payments statistics are presented was radically altered in 1953.

Polish Census Activities 9 February 1954, 1 p E/CN.3/185

[Sc. Pr.] Summary of the United Nations work in connection with censuses (methodological studies, preparation of standards, training of specialists and practical demonstration of expert advice, assembly and publication of the results of recent censuses) and the Commission's recommendations concerning the possible international extension of this work.

Map of censuses taken in different countries between 1945 and 1953 and main headings used in census tables.

Progress Report on Vital Statistics Activities 4 February 1954, 6 p E/CN.3/186

[Sc. Org.] Brief survey of the Commission's work for the establishment of an international vital statistics system. Recommendations for the improvement and coordination of these statistics.

II REVIEW OF DOCUMENTS PERIODICALS AND BOOKS

DOCUMENTS AND PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

LEGAL QUESTIONS

Request of the General Assembly for the Codification of the Principles of International Law concerning State Responsibility Memorandum submitted by Mr F V García Amador, member of the International Law Commission

[Sc] The General Assembly

such a codification

considers the scope

to be all

Nationality including Statelessness Third Report

by Roberto Cordova Special Rapporteur

[Sc] State of the problem and comments

REFUGEES

The Situation of the United Nations Refugee Emergency Fund A/AC.36/31 29 January 1954

15 p A/AC.36/31/Add.1 26 February 1954

[Pr Org Ej Dp St.] At its 10th session

the United Nations High Commission

as from 1 January 1954 The

international body able to fix

status of refugees in areas

where the local authorities defray only part of their maintenance expenses Statistics and analysis of requirements and available resources

The Promotion of Permanent

of the United Nations High

[Pr Org Ej Dp St.]

with the emigration and

repatriated

in connection with the social integration of refugees not wishing to be

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

STATISTICAL QUESTIONS

Documents and Work of the Eighth Session of the Statistical Commission

The following are the main papers prepared for this meeting

For explanation of abbreviations, see p. 53

Review of International Statistics 26 February 1954 38 p E/CN.3/170
[Sc.] A general review of the development of statistics throughout the world (E/CN.3/148) was presented at the seventh session of the Commission. The above paper is an account of progress since that date and dwells more particularly on work relating to the preparation and application of statistical standards for the improvement of international comparability.

Indices of Quantum and Unit Values for External Trade 4 February 1954 6 p E/CN.3/171
[Sc. Pr.] Improvement of the international comparability of indexes of quantum and unit value. General review of the problem and the Commission's recommendations.

Index Numbers of Wholesale Prices 15 February 1954 6 p E/CN.3/175
[Sc. Pr.] Progress of comparability in the calculation of index numbers of wholesale prices as between different countries with a view to facilitating economic analysis. Brief discussion of the problem and recommendations.

Social Statistics 9 February 1954, 14 p E/CN.3/178
[Sc.] In response to request by the Economic and Social Council the Secretary-General has submitted conditions conducive to the development of the various economic and social aspects of the protection of the assistance to the

Convention Relating to Economic Statistics 7 p (plus commentary and

Annotated List of International Standards for Statistics 16 February 1954, 31 p E/CN.3/181
[Sc. Pr.] An annotated list of the accepted definitions, methods and principles of statistical classification, as set forth in international conventions together with the final rules and recommendations adopted by the competent bodies of international organizations.

Progress Report Balance of Payments Statistics 4 March 1954 9 p E/CN.3/182
[Sc.] Work on this subject carried out by the International Monetary Fund in 1953. The annex contains brief description of the fifth volume of the balance of payments yearbook. The form in which the Fund's balance of payments statistics are presented was radically altered in 1953.

Population Census Activities 9 February 1954, 10 p E/CN.3/185
[Sc. P.] Summary of the United Nations work in connexion with censuses (methodological studies, comparison of standards, training of specialists and practical demonstrations, expert assembly and publication of the results of recent censuses) and the Commission's recommendations concerning the possible international extension of this work.

Map of censuses taken in different countries between 1945 and 1953 and main headings used in census tables.

Progress Report on Vital Statistics Activities 4 February 1954 6 p E/CN.3/186
[Sc. Org.] Brief survey of the Commission's work for the establishment of an international vital statistics system. Recommendations for the improvement and co-ordination of these statistics.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE BULLETIN

Housing Statistics 9 February 1954 17 p (plus addendum) E/CN 3/187 E/CN 3/187/ Add 1

[Sc Pr St] Present international position of housing statistics Commission's recommendations for the improvement of these statistics prospects Numerous tables

International Chamber of Commerce Study on Distribution Censuses 3 March 1954 E/CN 3/190

[Sc] In 1951 the work can

United Nations

under review

... set survey The document ... the present state and aims of this work

Conference of European Statisticians 26 January 1954 2 p

[Sc] Short account of the conference which dealt with two technical questions—statistics of external trade and wholesale price statistics

National Income

Methods of National Income Statistics in ECAGE Countries 21 January 1954 24 p

E/CN 11/STAT/Conf 3/4

[Sc Dp] Prepared for the Th ...

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Standards of Living

Report on International Definition and Measurement of Standards and Levels of Living March 1954 95 pp printed \$ 1.80 E/CN 3/179 1954 IV 5

[Sc St.] Report of a committee of experts convened in June 1953 by the Secretary General of the United Nations jointly with the ILO and Unesco. These experts considered the methods best suited to the definition and measurement of standards of living and the variations in the different countries with a view to international comparison. The report is a general review of the problems now ... measurement of standards of living ...

for ...

Ref

AGRICULTURE LAND TENURE RURAL DEVELOPMENT ETC.

European Agriculture A Statement of Problems 1954 83 p printed \$.80 E/TCE/175

[Sc. E.] [St Dp] Paper prepared by the Economic Commission for Europe and the FAO on the problem of modifying the policy followed by European countries in connexion with agricultural production and trade in agricultural products with a view to improving the general economic situation of Europe and the living conditions of the peasantry. Main factors influencing European productivity and agricultural food consumption agricultural policy and trade in agricultural products in Western and Eastern Europe

Rural Progress through Co-operatives The Place of Co-operative Associations in Agricultural Development 1954 112 p printed \$.75 E/2524

[Pr Sc Ej Dp Org] Paper prepared by the United Nations in co-operation with the ILO and the FAO on the possibilities offered ...

... ..

... economic circumstances The

main problems dealt with re the ams d methods of co-operat = associat ns
factors making for their success the in connex with th d
technical progress financing pur h ~

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954 322 p p ted \$2 50 E/2526
[Sc. P. E.] Dp St.] The present structure of la d ownership is a obstacle to the

eco mi d ocial developm t of many countries
A programme of the encouragement of ref rm has been set on foot by the United
N tions In 19 i th O ganizati n decided to survey at least every three years the
acti n taken by the diff ent countries n connexion with this programme and more
generally with all matters affecting the organizati of land distrib tion. The
lum under review is the first report drawn up in impl mentat on of this decis on.
O c 60 untres d terti nes with a t tal f bout 1 300 mill on nhab m
to special q est nna e circulated n November i
Th report drawn up h

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c uses pol es prospects nd recom

Rural Electrification Additional Information. 24 December 1953 39 p E/ECE/EP/136
[Sc. E.] Dp St.] In 1952 under the ausp es of the FAO and the Technical Assistance
Administrati n f th Eco omic Commiss n fo Europe experts prepared a report
in tw parts rural l trificati n (E/ECE/164 v ls 1 nd 2) A w king party
was then t p by the Eco omi Commiss n fo Europe t p t the study of this
p blem mor perma ent basis At th first meeti n of this work ng party
(3 8 N ember 1953) some countries (Rumania Uni n of Soviet Socialist Republics
d P l d) wh h had m t n evously uppled any nformati n gave p rucul n
which eprod ed in the docum nt under review

ECONOMIC RESOURCES INDUSTRY TRADE

P nbl ties for the Development of the Paper and Pulp Industry Lat Americ 1954, 142 p
printed, \$ 50 E/CN 2/294/Rev 2-19 3 II G2
[S St Dp E.] Preliminary study of the pulp d p per equirements that will
p bly ha t be m t by Latin America futur nd nalysis f this industry
present d f ture prod n poss bilit es General aspects f th problem f th region
as wh l a d mo ographs f nd vid al untres (Arg t na Brazil Ce tral
America, Chil Colomb Cuba, Ecuad Mexico P rag ay Peru Surinam
British d F ch G iana V cz l)

Study of the Paper and Pulp Industry of Latin America (southern of the region) 1954
34 p printed \$ 50 E/CN 12/3 4/Rev 2
[Ej St. Dp E.] Study of the development f trad between the sev n c untres of the
therm e f Latin America (o er 80 pc cent of th total trad between the Lat n
America countries) Arg tina Bolivia Brazil Chil Pa guay Peru and Uruguay
F ctu p aspects nd c nclus ns

Competition between Steel and Aluminum. 12 February 1954, 155 p \$1 25 E/ECE/Steel/81
[Sc. E.] Dp St.] First mo ograph issued in a new series of reports n th metals and
ther materials competing with steel Th report is ut to d fin the on f com
petiti between t l d aluminum d discusses h w far aluminum is already

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE BULLETIN

Housing Statistics 9 February 1954 17 p (plus addendum) E/CN.3/187 E/CN.3/187/Add.1

[Sc. Pr. St.] Present international position of housing statistics Commission's recommendations for the improvement of these statistics prospects Numerous tables

International Chamber of Commerce Study on Distribution Censuses 3 March E/CN.3/190

[Sc.] In 1951 the Inter-

the work carried out

United Nations then

under review gives an

and survey The document
the present state and aims of this work.

Conference of European Statisticians 6 January 1954 2 p

[Sc.] Short account of the conference which dealt with two technical questions—statistics of external trade and wholesale price statistics

National Income

Methods of National Income Statistics in ECAFE Countries 21 January 1954 4 p

E/CN.11/STAT/Conf.3/4

[Sc. Dp.] Prepared for the Third Regional Conference of Statisticians (21-23 March 1954) List of national income tables

since about the year 1930 in various countries

analysis of the structure of these calculations

Standards of Living

Report on International Definition and Measurement of Standards and Levels of Living

March 1954 95 p printed \$ 1.80 E/CN.3/179 1954 IV.5

[Sc., St.] Report of a committee of experts convened in June 1953 by the Secretary General of the United Nations jointly with the ILO and Unesco. These experts considered the methods best suited to the definition and measurement of standards of living and their variations in the different countries with a view to international comparison. Their report is a general review of the

measurement of standards

for bringing into

Reference document

AGRICULTURE LAND TENURE RURAL DEVELOPMENT ETC

European Agriculture A Statement of Problems 1954 83 p printed \$.80 E/ECE/173

[Sc., E.] [Sr. Dp.] Paper prepared by the Economic Commission for Europe

FAO on the problem of modernization

may

the living conditions of the
influencing European productivity and agricultural food
consumption agricultural policy and trade in agricultural products in Western and Eastern Europe

Rural Progress through Co-operation The Place of Co-operative Associations in Agricultural Development 1954 112 p printed \$.75 E/2524.

[Pr. Sc. E.] [Dp. Org.] Paper prepared by the United Nations

the ILO and the FAO

may

circumstances The

main problems dealt with are the means and methods of co-operation with the distribution of land factors making their access their action in connexion with the distribution of land technical progress financing purchases and sales health education and vocational training grouped firms, collectives and communal firms work done by the ILO and the FAO of rural co-operation

Progress in Land Reform. Analysis of replies by governments to a UN questionnaire 1943 322 p printed \$2.50 E/25.6
[Sc. Pr. Ej. Dp. St.] The present structure of land ownership is an obstacle to the economic and social development of many countries.

A programme for the encouragement of reform has been on foot by the United Nations. In 1951 the Organization decided to survey at least every three years the situation taken by the different countries in connexion with this programme and more generally with all matters affecting the reorganization of land distribution. The volume under review is the first report drawn up in implementation of this decision. Over 60 countries determined with a total of about 1,300 million inhabitants replied to special questionnaire circulated in November 1952.

The report drawn up on the basis of these replies by the United Nations in co-operation with the ILO and the FAO gives a very full survey of the problem general trends in the various countries policy in this matter (new countries United States of America, Australia, New Zealand, Europe, Asia, the Far East, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America) legal economic and technical solutions to the various practical problems arising out of the application of these policies prospects and recommendations Extensive statistics

Rural Electrification Additional Information. 24 December 1953 29 p E/ECE/EP/136
[Sc. Ej. Dp. St.] 1952 under the auspices of the FAO and the Technical Assistance Administration of the Economic Commission for Europe expert prepared a report in two parts on rural electrification (E/ECE/64, vols. 1 and 2). A working party was then set up by the Economic Commission for Europe to put the study of this problem on a permanent basis. At the first meeting of this working party (25-28 November 1953) some countries (Rumania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Poland) which had not previously applied a programme of rural electrification gave particular attention to the subject in the document under review.

CO-ORDINATE RESOURCES INDUSTRY TRADE

Policies for the Development of the Paper and Pulp Industry Latin America 1954, 142 p printed \$1.50 E/CN.2/294/Rev.2-953 II G2
[Sc. St. Dp. Ej.] Preliminary study of the pulp and paper requirements that will probably have to be met by Latin America in future and analysis of this industry present distribution possibilities General aspects of the problem for the region as well as monographs for individual countries (Argentina, Brazil, Central America, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Surinam, British Guiana, Venezuela)

Study of the Prospects for Inter-Latin American Trade (Southern Zone of the Region) 1954 34 p printed \$0.50 E/CN.2/304/Rev.2
[Ej. St. Dp. Ej.] Study of the development of trade between the southern zone of Latin America (80 per cent of the total trade between the Latin American countries) Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay. This prospect and conclusions

Competition between Steel and Aluminum. 12 February 1954, 55 p \$1.25 E/ECE/Steel/81
[Sc. Ej. Dp. St.] First monograph issued in a new series of reports on the metals and other materials competing with steel. The report sets out to define the zone of competition between steel and aluminum and discusses how far aluminum is already

Housing Statistics 9 February 1954 17 p (plus addendum) E/CN 3/187 E/CN 3/187/ Add 1

[Sc Pr St] Present international position of housing statistics Commission's recommendations for the improvement of these statistics prospects Numerous tables

International Chamber of Commerce Study on Distribution Censuses 3 March 1954 ■ E/CN 3/190

[Sc] In 1951 the I.C.C. began a major survey The document under review gives an account of the present state and aims of this work

Conference of European Statisticians 26 January 1954 2 p

[Sc] Short account of the conference which dealt with two technical questions—statistics of external trade and wholesale price statistics

National Income

Methods of National Income Statistics in ECAFE Countries 21 January 1954 24 p E/CN 11/STAT/Conf 3/4

[Sc Dp] Prepared for the Third Session 1 March 1954

Standards of Living

Report on International Definition and Measurement of Standards and Levels of Living March 1954 95 p printed \$ 1.80 E/CN 3/179 1954 IV 5

[Sc St] Report of a committee of experts convened in June 1953 by the Secretary General of the United Nations jointly with the ILO and Unesco These experts considered the methods best suited to the definition and measurement of standards of living and the variations in the different countries with a view to international comparison Their report is a general review of the measurement of standards of living

for bringing
Reference

AGRICULTURE LAND TENURE RURAL DEVELOPMENT ETC.

European Agriculture A Statement of Problems 1954 8 p ■

[Sc Ej St Dp] Paper prepared for
FAO on the problem of modernization

and trends of the European productivity and agriculture food consumption agricultural policy and trade in agricultural products in Western and Eastern Europe

Rural Progress through Co-operatives The Place of Co-operative Associations in Agricultural Development 1954 112 p printed \$.75 E/2524

[Pr Sc Ej Dp Org] Paper prepared by the United Nations in co-operation with the ILO and the FAO on the possibilities offered by co-operatives

pamphlets and articles on the question of the status of women workers (E/CN.6/245 3 February 1954 7 p) *Economic Opportunities for Women Older Women Worker* (discussion of available data in the different countries of the number and status of women workers of 40 years and over) (E/CN.6/2 19 February 1954 58 p) *Acc...*
 E/CN.6/2 19 February 1954 58 p
 E/CN.6/2 19 February 1954 58 p
 Institutional provisions
 Add 3 15 January 1954
 the Nationality of Married Women
 and constitutional provisions
 subsequently a document (E/CN.6/2 19 February 1954 58 p)
 information. Document
 in the booklet
 information

FREEDOM IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION AND INFORMATION

also contains

Freedom of Information. Supplementary report submitted by Mr Salvador P. Lopez, Rapporteur on Freedom of Information, E/2426/Add.1 1 February 1954 26 p
 E/2426/Add.1 1 February 1954 26 p
 [Sc. E] Dp] 1953 Mr Lopez, an expert whom the Economic and Social Council appointed an individual capacity to carry out a general survey of the problem of freedom of information in the world today published lengthy report containing a historical background and the results of the analysis of the present situation and a recommendation (E/2426) Documents E/2426/Add.1 and Add.2 in paragraph number of economic development of the last few months. They also contain a survey of the work of the eighth session of the General Assembly concerning freedom of information, a data supplied by various world press organizations (in paragraph 10 of the report) and a list of the associated press world inquiry into the other restrictions on freedom of information.

Freedom of Information. Report of the Rapporteur on Freedom of Information Commission, submitted 19 January 1954 from the Deputy Permanent Representative of the Union of South Africa to the Secretary-General 1 February 1954 4 p
 [Sc. E] The Government of the Union of South Africa contests the findings of the report by Mr Salvador P. Lopez in his report E/2426

Study of Discrimination. *Educational Intern Report of the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities* 4 December 1953 36 p
 [Sc. Org. Dp] Account of the work carried out in this connection by the United Nations International Labour Office and UNESCO Legal Division adopted by governments against discrimination in education Bibliography

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

Technical Assistance Activities in Economic Development and Public Administration the ECAFE Region 9 December 1953 23 p E/CN.11/379
 [Org. Pr. Dp. St.] Account of the main forms of assistance which the Technical Assistance Administration applied in 1953 and is planning to supply in 1954 in co-ordination with the national programmes of economic development and public administration in countries of Asia and the Far East. General survey of advisory services (planning of economic development, development of natural resources, industrial development, housing, general planning, trade, public administration, statistics, transport and communications, regional projects) Fellowships and scholarships with statistical tables

(and can become) a rival of steel Part I History of the development of aluminium and future prospects Part II Competition between steel and aluminium

Private Capital

The International Flow of Private Capital 1946-1952 18 January 1954 61 p printed. E/2531

[Sc. St Dp Ej] Statistical data available for the period from the end of the second world war to 1952 analysis of trends study of factors limiting the flow of private capital, prospects and conclusions

Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries International Flow of Private Capital for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries 19 February 1954 79 p E/2456 [Sc Pr Dp Ej St Org] This report drawn up at the same time as the pamphlet *The International Flow of Private Capital 1946-1952* (see above) describes the national and international measures taken to encourage the flow of private capital for economic development References to relevant research and studies Bibliography

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

Implementation of ECAFE Recommendations 5 January 1954 44 p E/2531

[Org Sc Dp Ej] In 1951 the commission acted on taken by governments in recommendations The above report is a study of compliance with this decision Survey of the commission's activities not giving rise to specific action on the part of governments review of programmes necessitating special action by governments and account of the methods of such co-operation applicable to each country

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East Official Records Tenth Session 8-18 February 1954 25 March 1954 250 p

[Org Sc] Work of the session discussion of the documents submitted

FORCED AND CORRECTIVE LABOUR SLAVERY

Forced Labour Reports of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour Observations and communications of governments A series of papers E/2431/Addenda

[Ej] The Economic and Social Council and the ILO set up an ad hoc committee of three independent experts to study the problem of forced and corrective labour in the world at present report (E/2431 1953) Various states have submitted reports to the United Nations Czechoslovakia Poland Venezuela etc

Slavery A series of documents 26 February 1954 93 p E/2458 and several addenda [Sc. Org Dp] On the basis of an annual report (E/2357 27 April 1953) the General Assembly adopted a resolution concerning the reform of the 1926 International Convention on Slavery The above report describes the action taken on this decision and quotes the comments and new information received from various states and the ILO

STATUS OF WOMEN

[Sc. Dp Ej St Org] Various papers were published in connection with the eighth session of the Commission on the Status of Women held in New York 29 December 1953 to 7 January 1954 included on 9 April 1954 in the 2nd of Preliminary Reports (E/2458 February 1954 12 p) approximately 100 books

SECRETARIAT

STATISTICAL QUESTIONS

Blogg, J. H. J. Reent Official Demographic English Facts
 [Sc Pr] Separate print of
 group of book 953 1
 (population tables incl)
 period of other demogr-
 all countries and territories in world. The titles of works in English other than
 English French accompanied by an English translation.

Development of Statistics in Burma

1
 1. user personally dealt with the general development of statistics in Rangoon
 in Burma in 1915 working on the basis of his personal observations and in co-
 operation with Burmese experts. He thinks that with the help of these experts Burma
 will be able to compete with the most developed countries in the field of statistics.
 The report describes the progress in this field and points forward peculiar recommendations.

NATIONAL INCOME

The National Income and National Accounts of the Republic of Panama 1944-1952 by Dr H.
 Ryken van Olst 93 82 p printed ST/TAA/K/P nama/1
 [Sc.] Aims and methods of assessing national income and national accounts in general
 presentation and analysis of data available for Panama recommendations for their
 improvement.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT SOCIAL WELFARE

The United Nations Social Survey for Arab States in the Middle East 1954 91 p
 printed \$1
 [Pr.] The first social welfare seminar organized by the United Nations for the Arab
 States which was held in 1949 provided an opportunity for a general discussion
 of problems.
 The second (1950) was concerned with rural social welfare.
 The third (the proceedings of which are incorporated in the document under review)
 was held in 1952. It dealt with existing welfare services and the planning of the programmes
 assembly field the work of these services and the planning of the programmes
 research and statistics in the field of social welfare. Lists of economic development
 social welfare programmes financing medical-social services and list of persons
 attending the seminar recommendations conclusions list of working papers.

Social Services in Israel by Professor T. S. Symey and Miss Dorothy G. Kahn. 9 November
 1953 36 p ST/TAA/N/I a/1
 [Pr.] At the request of the Government of Israel two experts were instructed by the
 Technical Assistant Administrator to study certain problems in this country connected
 with the organization of ministries concerned with welfare questions the organization
 of general social services the development of local welfare centres the employment
 and training of welfare workers family assistance, clearing and other subjects.

THE FAO ILO AND UNESCO IN ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

Activities of FAO of Special Interest to Asia and the Far East 11 December 1953 15 p
E/CN/11/380

[Org E] Asia is certainly the continent on which the solution of the world food problem mainly depends. General data on the question. The FAO's contribution in the raising of this region's agricultural output. Statistical data meeting various programmes. (document published by the FAO at its tenth session February 1954)

Activities of the ILO of Special Interest to Asia and the Far East 16 December 1953 45 p
E/CN/11/381

[Org E] Supplements the *Seventh Report of the International Labour Organisation to the United Nations* with special emphasis on the work carried out by the ILO in Asia and the Far East in 1953: results of the third Asian Regional Conference and the Asian Maritime Conference; the fifth session of the Asian Advisory Committee and recent developments in the field of technical assistance (document published by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East for its tenth session February 1954)

Unesco Activities in 1953 of Interest to the ECFAE 27 January 1954 23 p E/CN/11/384

[Pr Org] Concise description by type of country of Unesco programmes of interest to Member States in the ECFAE region: extension of school education; community rehabilitation; exchange of persons; fellowships; scientific research; teaching and dissemination of science; technical assistance; co-operation in the field of social science; assistance for higher education; information; voluntary international assistance, etc.

LIBYA

The Economic and Social Development of Libya by Benjamin Higgins 1953 170 p
printed \$1.75 ST/TAA/L/Libya/3

[Sc St E] Condensed version of the report of a mission to study all the problems from the point of view of the Government for the years 1953-54.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

NON SELF GOVERNING TERRITORIES

Survey of the Situation in the Trust Territories

[E] [Sc St] A series of documents. The Secretariat is publishing a preliminary series of working papers which are the first drafts of chapters on each of the following trust territories to be included in the Trusteeship Council's next report to the General Assembly: Tanganyika, Ruanda Urundi, Somaliland under Italian administration, the Cameroons under British administration, Togoland under British administration, Western Samoa, Nauru and New Caledonia. (document published by the Secretariat at the Council's first session, 1946-47, on the geography and demography of the territories, and progress in various fields (political, economic and educational development).)

The documents in this series that have already been received deal with the Cameroons under British administration (T/L.404 and various addenda), the Cameroons under French administration (T/L.406 and Addenda), Togoland under British administration (T/L.407 and Addendum) and Togoland under French administration (T/L.409 and Addendum).

ORGANIZATION REVIEWS ANNOUNCEMENTS

[Pr Ej St.] Present lectr ty s pply s tuation in Colomb x and constructive sugges-
 tions for its impro vme t. The annex touches briefly on other publ c util ties (water
 telepho markets) in Col mbia. 28

MEXICO (IRON AND STEEL)

An Enquiry into the Iron and Steel Industry of Mexico 11 January 1954, 74 p printed.
 ST/TAA/K/Mex co/1
 [Sc. Pr. St. Ej.] Summary of the findings and recommendations of three experts
 appointed by the United Nations to analyse, in co-operation with many Mexican
 experts the progress of the iron and steel industry in Mexico and the problems involved
 in supplying coal for this industry

PHILIPPINES (ARTS AND CRAFTS)

Hand W ome

[P] printed
 the 1 Assistant Administrator of the Department of the Philippines Government
 gives a critical account of the part played by the hand weaving industry in this country
 and puts forward recommendations for its development in co-ordination with general
 programmes for economic and social development and for improved output of home
 industries and crafts. Map. Photographic illustrations.

The Ceramic Industry in the Philippines by Mary Kring Rusey 10 January 1954, 22 p,
 printed, \$ 25 ST/TAA/K/Philippines/4.
 [Pr Ej] Summary report to the Foreign Office dealing with pottery the manufacture of
 bricks etc.

EL SALVADOR (EVELOPMENT)

The Economic and Social Development of El Salvador A series of documents 1954-
 [Ej S St.] Under the general title included a 26 February 1951 between the United
 Nations and the Specialized Agencies represented on the Technical Assistance Commis-
 sion, on the one hand and the Government of El Salvador on the other hand. Experts
 were appointed to prepare reports on a few special aspects of the economic and social
 development of El Salvador. These reports are a critical account of the problems and
 with recommendations and conclusions. The following are:-
 Social Welfare Programme in El Salvador 18 p
 Development of Geological Resources in El Salvador 140 p
 The Harbour System of El Salvador 77 p S
 Telecommunications in El Salvador 44 p ST/TAA/K/El Salvador/6
 Production and Distribution of Electricity in El Salvador 124 p ST/TAA/K/El Salvador/7
 The Textile Industry El Salvador 45 p ST/TAA/K/El Salvador/8
 Industrial Development of El Salvador 104 p ST/TAA/K/El Salvador/10
 Inland Transport El Salvador 100 p ST/TAA/K/El Salvador/11

and to advise on the best means of improving the situation in these various spheres. The pamphlet under review contains the report of these two experts.

United Nations Series on Community Organization and Development | Monograph on community settlements and report of the survey mission on community organization and development Israel 1954 89 p printed \$ 80

[Tr Sc Ej St] Part I Survey of the organization of and part played by communities and co-operative farms temporary villages for immigrants etc Part II Report of a mission responsible for studying other types of centres and welfare services in Israel Statistics

Full bibliography containing references to sociological works on stratification social relations cultural integration etc in Israeli communities

Switzerland (United Nations series on Community Organization and Development Country monographs) 1954 14 p printed \$ 15 ST/SOA/Ser 0/17

[Pr Ej] Account of the organization and work of the various types of institutions directly or indirectly concerned with the promotion of community development in Switzerland the commune itself as the sovereign school authority welfare services communal property etc parishes workers centres women's and youth clubs social clubs etc Survey of the special programme of assistance for Alpine districts

PREVENTION OF CRIME AND TREATMENT OF DELINQUENTS

Comparative Survey on Juvenile Delinquency Part IV Asia and the Far East November 1953 123 p printed \$1 ST/SOA/SD/1/Add 3

[Pr Sc Ej St Dp] Fourth ^ ^ ^ delinquency throughout the regard to juvenile delinquer (us prevention etc) in the following countries Burma Ceylon India Japan Pakistan Philippines and Thailand Bibliography

Latin American Seminar on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders 1954 89 p printed \$ 80 ST/TAA/Ser C/13

[Sc Pr] The seminar was held at Rio de Janeiro from 6 to 19 April 1953. The report under review gives its programme the list of persons attending (from 17 countries) and recommendations. The main subjects dealt with were the minimum rules for the treatment of prisoners recruitment and training of staff for penitentiaries reformatories system of open etc

A 1

ECONOMIC SITUATION OF ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East 1953 Bangkok February 1954 161 p printed \$1 50 1953 IIF 8

[Sc Ej Dp St.] Seventh survey of this kind prepared by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Apart from the analysis of trends common to the region this report contains for the first time a series of monographs on the individual countries (all countries in the region with the exception of continental China which was dealt with in a monograph published separately in the November 1953 issue of the *Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East*).

COLOMBIA (ELECTRICITY)

Public Utilities in Colombia by Cecilia Elia 28 December 1953 65 p printed \$ 60 ST/TAA/Colombia/1

PREVENTION OF ACCIDENTS

Cases of Accidents the Com. of the ILO on Road Transport and Insurance for the Prevention of Accidents, 1934, 22 p printed, \$ 1.00
 [Fr Dp. St. Ej] Analysis of the causes of road accidents in the Netherlands, Labour Office in France, Ltd. and Commission on the Prevention of Accidents in coupling vehicles and methods of preventing accidents.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING, RESEARCH, ETC.

Vocational Training of Dockworkers in the Port of Rotterdam by the ILO, 1934, 22 p printed, \$ 1.00
 [Sc. Pr. St. Ej] Account of the vocational training of dockworkers in Rotterdam by the ILO, 1934, 22 p printed, \$ 1.00
 support of the government and the ILO, 1934, 22 p printed, \$ 1.00
 Basic training, training of dockworkers in the port of Rotterdam, 1934, 22 p printed, \$ 1.00
 handbooks on vocational training, 1934, 22 p printed, \$ 1.00
 Rotterdam experience in vocational training, 1934, 22 p printed, \$ 1.00
 practical problems. The ILO, 1934, 22 p printed, \$ 1.00
 how that dockwork is done, 1934, 22 p printed, \$ 1.00

The Recruitment and Training of Seafarers by the ILO, 1934, 22 p printed, \$ 1.00
 [Sc. Pr. St. Ej] Report on the recruitment and training of seafarers, 1934, 22 p printed, \$ 1.00
 with recommendations, 1934, 22 p printed, \$ 1.00

The International System of Student Exchanges by the ILO, 1934, 22 p printed, \$ 1.00
 [St. Sc.] The ILO, 1934, 22 p printed, \$ 1.00
 into the system of student exchanges, 1934, 22 p printed, \$ 1.00
 training and vocational education, 1934, 22 p printed, \$ 1.00
 enquiry summed up in the book, 1934, 22 p printed, \$ 1.00
 years in the number of persons, 1934, 22 p printed, \$ 1.00
 c uses broad. Extensive statistics, 1934, 22 p printed, \$ 1.00

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Technical Assistance 1954, 100 p printed, \$ 7.00
 [Sc. Dp. Ej] Org] Critical study of the ILO technical assistance programme, 1954, 100 p printed, \$ 7.00
 with ILO practical studies through the application of the ILO, 1954, 100 p printed, \$ 7.00
 Assistance programme purposes of the programme fields of work, 1954, 100 p printed, \$ 7.00
 organization and administrative planning assessment of results of the programme, 1954, 100 p printed, \$ 7.00
 projects, 1954, 100 p printed, \$ 7.00
 A large number of illustrations, graphs and a map, 1954, 100 p printed, \$ 7.00

EMPLOYEES

Salaried Employ *Modern Society* by Fritz Koenig, Head of the Statistical Office of the ILO, 1954, 100 p printed, \$ 7.00
 [S. Ej. St.] Board outline of the theory of employment, 1954, 100 p printed, \$ 7.00
 of the employee class in the world today (C. E. = sociologist pointing in the study of this class), 1954, 100 p printed, \$ 7.00

LABOUR IN AVIATION

Conditions of Employment in International Civil Aviation, by Captain Schenkman, 1954, 6 p printed, \$ 0.50
 [Sc. Ej] Organization of labour conditions of employment, remuneration, holidays, 1954, 6 p printed, \$ 0.50

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE BULLETIN

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION¹

GENERAL SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Report of the Director General Workers Housing Economic and Social Survey Activities of the ILO International Labour Conference Thirty seventh session 1954 144 p printed \$1

[Sc Org Ej St] It is the established practice for the report presented by the Director General of the ILO to the annual session of the Labour Conference to retrace the general pattern of social evolution over the past year and to draw attention to the salient features of the social policy applied throughout the world during this period. This year's report dwells more particularly on the situation in all continents and the factors that could hinder practical social progress. Such progress is essential for international relations.

Furthermore the report sums up the work

and discusses the housing problem as one of the pre-conditions for a balanced economy in

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Summary of Reports on Unratified Conventions and on Recommendations (Article 19 of the Constitution) 1954 72 p printed \$1

[Sc Org] Under Article 19 of the ILO's Constitution Member States are obliged to report to the Director General of the International Labour Office on the position of their law and practice in regard to the matters dealt with in the Convention and Recommendation on unratified conventions and recommendations.

The reports summarize the recommendation concerning a recommendation concerning

Minimum wages in Latin America 1954 10 p printed \$1

[Sc Ej Dp St] Comparison of the present position of legislation in 19 countries of Latin America

HOLIDAYS WITH PAY

Holidays with pay 1954 51 p printed \$40

[Sc Org] Analysis of the replies of governments to a draft recommendation concerning holidays with pay. Text of draft recommendation designed to serve as a basis for the second discussion of this question at the thirty-seventh session of the International Labour Conference.

Utilization of holidays with pay 1954 72 p printed \$50

[Pr Ej Dp] Survey of various countries' present arrangements for workers' leisure. Analysis of the act on taken by the ILO and various governments to enable workers to derive full benefit from their holidays. Methods of organizing and financing such measures and possible improvements in this field.

¹ As general rule ILO publications are issued in English, French and Spanish.

ORGANIZATION REVIEWS ANNOUNCEMENTS PREVENTION OF ACCIDENTS

Causa f Accident the Coupling f Railway Vehicle and Related Operations and Measures for their Prevention 1953 22 p printed \$ 25
[Pr Dp St Ej] Analis f the results f an enquiry conducted by the International
Labor Office in F Italy d Switzerland on the main causes of accidents in the
coupling of vehicles and in the methods of preventing collisions

VOCATIONAL TRAINING SEMINARS EXCHANGES ETC.

For 1 and 2 in f Dockworker in the Port f Rotterdam, 1954 11 p printed \$ 10
[Sc P St Ej] A unit f the pilot programme for the vocational training of dock-
workers in Rotterdam by the Social Research Institute of the Federation with the finance
support of the Government and municipal authorities a detailed study of the programme
Basic training results obtained from the school of dockworkers The conclusion is that the
Research Institute has shown that the vocational training of dockworkers is a
practical possibility The implementation of this system of vocational training goes to
show that dockwork is a genuine trade

The Recruitment and Training f Technical and Vocational Teaching Staff Technical docu-
ments 953 36 p
[Sc P] Scope d imports of the problem. Review f problems arising in connexion
with recruitment training promotion and remuneration. Bibliography on the subject

The International Exchange f Student Employment 1954, 18 p printed, \$ 10
[St. Sc.] The International Labour Office has already indicated several enquiries
into the opportunities offered in the different countries for foreigners to take practical
training d occupational courses in their territory The results f the 1953
enquiry summed up in the booklet under review show a great increase of practical
courses in the number f persons that have been able to take such practical training
courses abroad. Extensive statistics

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Technical Assistance 954 100 p printed \$ 75
[Sc Dp Ej Org] Critical study f the ILO technical assistance programme extends on
f the ILO practical activities through the application f the United Nations Technical
Assistance programme purpose of the programme f the f w k p blms of
organization d demonstration planning assessment f results a d f follow-up work
in projects
A large number f illustrations graphs a d map

EMPLOYEES

Salaried Employees f Modern Society by Fritz Crüner Head of the Statistics Office of the
Swedish Central Organization of Salaried Employees 1954 14 p printed \$ 15
[S Ej St.] Based on the theory of the development a d r le
of the employee class in the world today (Crüner is an sociologist specializing in the
study f this class)

LABOUR IN AVIATION

Conditions f Employment in International Civil Aviation by Captain S. Henkman, 1954
6 p printed \$ 5
[Sc Ej] Organization f labour conditions f employment, remuneration, holidays

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE BULLETIN

and recreation ———
international

INTERNATIONAL CO-ORDINATION OF EMPLOYMENT MARKETS IN THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES

The Common Employment Market for the Northern Countries by Bertil Olsson 1954 11 p
printed \$ 15

[Sc. Ej. Pr.] Machinery for establishing a common employment market for Denmark
Finland Iceland Norway and Sweden its operation the part played by the central
authorities employers and workers organizations and local labour services.

BUILDING AND THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM IN ITALY

Workers Housing and the Unemployment Problem in Italy First results of the Fanfani Plan
1954 13 p \$ 15

[Ej. St.] Outline of the plan adopted by the Italian Government in February 1949
organic structure implementation (technical aspects general distribution of work
allocation of housing social aspects) results obtained lessons learnt from experience.
Statistics

UNITED NATIONS FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION (FAO)

WORK OF FAO

The Work of FAO 1952-53 Growing Food for a Growing World 1954, 38 p printed
\$ 50

[Org. Ej. St.] The work of FAO as related to the growth of population soil development
and improvement rationalization of crops and stock farming equipment trade in
products of the soil diet and health fisheries timber problem land reform.

Report of the Seventh Session of the Conference 23 November 11 December 1953 March
1954 256 p \$2 Trilingual English French and Spanish.

[Sc. Org.] The FAO holds biennial conferences The seventh was held in November
December 1953 The document under review contains the resolutions adopted by the
conference on such subjects as the world situation and trends as regards food and
agriculture the organization's work and programme and the 1954-55 budget. Analytical
index.

Budget for 1954 as approved by the Seventh Session of the Conference 1954 43 p printed
[Org. St.] Detailed analysis

WORLD SITUATION

The State of Food and Agriculture—1953 Part II Longer Term Prospects January 1954
83 p printed \$1

[Sc. Ej. Dp. St.] Survey of probable developments in the field of food and agriculture
over the next few years if the present programmes of the governments are carried into
effect and due regard is had to demographic trends production and consumption
for the whole world by region and product commercial repercussions factors and
prerequisites for the attainment of the results forecast (soil development and utilization
of water mechanization selection development of fisheries)

STATISTICS

Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics Trade—1953 Vol VII Part II 313 p
printed \$3.50 Trilingual English French and Spanish.

[Sc. St.] Data available as at 31 December 1953 For the first time the yearbook

applies figures to 11 w f mparans with th period 1934 38 This vol me (Part II
f th) book) deals with trade. P rt I is concerned with prod ct n

RATION DIET

Food Composition Table—Mineral and Vitamin F international us March 1954
117 p printed \$1
[Sc.] Tables giving the A C and B vitamin content of riboflavin and nicotinic
content, and the cal um d iron content of few staple foods. This data is
important for improving the diet of communities. Very full bibliography (56 p)

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (WHO)

MONOGRAPHS

Plague by R. P. Hutzler 698 p printed (Monograph No. 22) \$9
[Sc. Pr. Ej. Dp. St.] Statistical reference work on the whole problem treated from the
historical and medical point of view. It is written in the light of the most recent scientific
discusses and takes the place of the basic work published in 1936 by Wu Lien-teh
Chun, P. Hutzler and Wu.

Trachomatous World Problem, by T. Guth and R. R. Wullcox 1954 80 p printed
[Sc. Pr. Ej. Dp. St.] Syphilis yaws and other diseases raise especially serious
social problems and forming a group of diseases—that of the treponematoses—by reason
of their character and because they are menable to penicillin treatment. A survey and
epidemiological survey of the new methods of treatment. A survey of governments
and international agencies mass campaigns sample surveys of results economic

PUBLICATIONS

Leprosy 1954 31 p printed
[Sc. Pr. Ej. Dp. St.] Survey of the development and present state of leprosy health legislation
Special problems involved in the development of leprosy vocations open to them marriage
immigration and leprosy measures for the protection of their families and protection
of children, with various other considerations. Bibliographical

Anti Smallpox Vaccination 1954 40 p printed.
[Sc. Pr. Ej. Dp. St.] Comparison of the different countries legislation in this matter
Synopsis table Details of vaccination technique. Bibliographical references

STATISTICS

Maternal Mortality (Epidemiologic and Vital Statistics Report Vol. VII No. 2) 1954
5 p printed \$ 75 Bilingual English French
[Sc. Pr. Ej. Dp. St.] Available data from the whole world for the period 1936 to 1952
with the number of maternity deaths and corresponding mortality rate

Cases of Diphtheria and Infectious Diseases (Epidemiologic and Vital Statistics Reports
Vol. VII No. 3) 1954 5 p printed \$ 7
Detailed statistical data without comment. The diseases taken into consideration are
diphtheria, scarlet fever, pertussis, erysipelas, meningitis (meningococcal) and poliomyelitis

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION (UNESCO)

RACIAL RELATIONS

Jewish Thought as a Factor in Civilization, by Léon Roth 1954 64 p printed \$.40
[Sc. Ej] Unesco has undertaken the publication of a series of reports designed to indicate the attitude of the great religions and philosophical systems towards the diversity of human types

This subject was already referred to in connexion with the Reverend Father Congar's booklet *The Catholic Church and the Race Question*¹ which inaugurated the collection.

Professor Léon Roth approaches the subject from a special angle and briefly describes the specific contribution of Judaism to world civilization. He thus stresses all factors in Judaism which are the very negation of racial exclusivism and records the extent of the debt humanity owes to Judaism. Bibliography

The Ecumenical Movement and the Racial Problem by W. A. Vissers 1954 70 p printed \$.40 2s

[Sc. Ej] Booklet in the same series. The Ecumenical Movement today unites over 160 Protestant, Anglican and Orthodox Churches. The author sets forth the basic views of these Churches on the racial question. Bibliography

Race Mixture by Harry L. Shapiro 1954 56 p printed \$.35 1s 6d²

[Sc. Ej. Dp. St.] Booklet

quest on from the point

of the Department of

New York

race mixture

“ “ aspects of the problem of racial hybrids, race consciousness, cultural biological considerations. A few practical examples are given to illustrate the diversity of causes and effects of race mixtures (Pitcairn, Jamaica and Hawaii). Bibliography

Racial Equality and the Law by Morroe Beale 1954 76 p printed \$.50 3s

[Sc. Ej.] Study of the laws introduced in the United States of America with a view to reducing racial discrimination (with special reference to employment) and of the effectiveness of these laws. The author dwells on group relations in the United States of America, employment discrimination and its decline, the legal aspect of the problem and the role of the federal, state and municipal governments and private organizations. In his final remarks the author stresses the importance of the law as a means of guiding and speeding up the evolution of mental habits and everyday behaviour.

EDUCATION

The Education of Teachers in England, France and the U.S.A. by C. A. Richardson, Hélène Brulé and Harold E. Snyder 1953 341 p printed \$2.15 6d

[Sc. Dp. Ej.] Volume consisting of three monographs on three democracies which introduced universal schooling last century (England, France and the United States of America). The following subjects are dealt with: the organization and development and organization of primary teacher training, curricula, finance and staff recruitment and professional and social status of teachers, etc.

General introduction by Karl W. Bellow. Bibliographies

Also published in Spanish, English, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Russian, Swedish, Turkish, Vietnamese, and Yiddish. Edited by the Reverend Father M. J. Congar, O.P.

Published in Spanish, English, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Russian, Swedish, Turkish, Vietnamese, and Yiddish. Edited by Harry L. Shapiro.

A Few Publications issued

[Sc. P. Ej.] Of the publications on education recently issued by Unesco mention should be made of
A Handbook of Suggestions for the Teaching of Geography (third revised edition) by N. V. Scarf
Suggestions on the Teaching of History by C. P. Hill (second edition) (both in the series *Words and Ideas Underlying*)
Compulsory Education in New Zealand (second edition) (in the series *Studies on Compulsory Education*)

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION

Social Welfare Work Journal by Roger Macfarlane 1931-66 p. printed \$1.25 75 6d
 [P. S. Ej. St.] Report addressed to persons concerned with the promotion of welfare work through fundamental education. It describes the activities of the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission from 1937 to the present day and deals with its historical and sociological background, organization and programmes (community development mass education co-operation) and results. Bibliography.

A PSYCHO-SOCIOLOGICAL INQUIRY IN JAPAN

What is the Chrysanthemum and the Sword? A Study of the Attitudes of the Japanese by Jean Stoetzel 1954, 340 p. printed P. 15 50 12s 6d
 [Sc. P. Ej. St.] Follows the example of Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946) but criticizes her method in certain points. Stoetzel decided in his title the Chrysanthemum—the emblem of the imperial family—a and the traditional sword of the Samurai—the two of the symbols of a country—Japan—since culture is a national act in for the orientation of Japan has been directed since 1945. The title of the book is—The Phenomenological Inquiry into the Problem Studied by two Japanese and a North American expert in Japan—these questions. At Unesco suggest in they cited field inquiry in 1951-52 using the most up-to-date methods.
 After describing the characteristics of Japanese society (history and present trends) and goes on to discuss the place of youth in this society. He then gives a detailed analysis of the attitudes of young people, on the basis of a large body of documentary material (the results of Japanese psychological essays and of special investigations carried out by Stoetzel and his assistants) has published surveys and depth tests. The main subjects dealt with are the attitude of Japanese youth towards their country, patriotism and militaristic mentality; the attitude towards Japanese society and its emperor; the social development of the Japanese system, democracy and authority; the personality of young people in Japan. Detailed analysis of method. Extensive bibliography.

SOCIAL SCIENCE TEA HING

The Teaching of the Social Sciences in the United States 15 p. printed \$1.45
 [Sc. P. Ej. Pr.] Further series Teaching in the Social Sciences. Unesco is publishing epa ate monographs each describing a particular country. Experience in this field we have already reviewed the United States, social sciences teaching in France and the United Kingdom. Others will deal with Egypt, India, Mexico, Sweden and Yugoslavia. The report on the United States of America written by specialists surveys the basic characteristics of higher and university education that our try and goes on to raise the development of social sciences teaching in that country. Special chapters deal

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE BULLETIN

in detail with the teaching of political economy sociology anthropology social psychology and law

PROTECTION OF CULTURAL PROPERTY

Les Techniques de Protection des Biens Culturels en cas de Conflit 1954 222 p printed plus 48 p of photographic plates
 and A Noblecourt 1954 222 p printed plus 48 p of photographic plates
 1 500 French frs
 [Pr] Handbook written for all persons who in the event of armed conflict may have to arrange for the protection of monuments of art and history museums libraries and archives which are part of the cultural heritage of mankind A clear description is first given of the direct and indirect dangers to which cultural property may be exposed by modern warfare after which the authors explain the practical steps that should be taken in case of need Bibliography

NUCLEAR RESEARCH IN EUROPE

European Co-operation in Nuclear Research 1954 6 p printed
 [Ej Org] Brief account of the history of relations between research workers and of scientific emulation since the Renaissance analysis of the reasons for the emergence of new problems in these fields especially with regard to nuclear physics and account of the original development and functions of the European Organization for Nuclear Research the International Laboratory in Geneva etc

EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

- Dp = Presents facts country by country (or region by region)
- Ej = Supplies essential information to educators and journalists interested in social questions
- Org = Is very useful for knowledge of the current activities of the international organization concerned
- Pr = Supplies useful factual information for certain groups of people (educators government officials members of international organizations and economic and social institutions etc) whose activities are connected with the subject matter of the document
- St = Contains statistics
- Sc = Deserves the attention of scientific workers in the field concerned

The importance of these conventional signs is of course purely relative and we do not wish the reader to be taken as implying a system of classification We use them merely in order to give as brief an abstract as is consistent with indicating in the easiest way possible that part of the contents of the publications and documents under review which relates to some particular branch of social science

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF PERIODICALS

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

P RDEA (G A.) 'Pactes régionaux et écu té collectif Recue d D i l lernat onal
de Sciences d plomat que t pol tique 31(4) Oct. Dec 1933 p 412 20
Th ev l t of international policy since th seco d wo ld wa has created a veritable
probl m with reg rd t egio l pact s d thur influence on the system of collect e
ecurity

In general regionalism tends to provoke a spirit of political exclusivism incompatible
with the needs of international co-operation, and to do so the signatory states in
regional agreements neglect their international obligations. Moreover the system
is likely to encourage the formation of hostile blocs that is highly unfavourable
to the maintenance of peace.

As regards their effect on the functioning of the United Nations regional pacts in
spite of the provisions of Articles 52, 53 and 54 of the Charter do not appear very
likely to assist the Organization in its task of ensuring international security. Regional
organizations should ensure that they will not be based on the technique of spheres
of influence. The utility with regard to the security seems to reside mainly
in the maintenance of a genuine equilibrium which inevitably conditions their political strategy.

WRIGHT (Q.) Economic History 3(4) autumn 93 p 363 77
Whereas the nineteenth century was peaceful, prosperous and democratic, the twentieth
century which is infinitely more marked by bloodshed is characterized by progress in
technology and organization.

The modern world seems capable of two kinds of equilibrium based on the law
of large numbers: the theoretical equilibrium based on the law
of purely statistical distribution—can be maintained in the present system of the
national relations. In order to have the economic men in their efforts to establish an
international order must expect ever fundamental principles. In general world
stability will be established only if economics and politics—two dimensions required
radically different methods of organization—must be independent of each other as
possible. Moreover, the United Nations will be
able to carry out its work of international stability only if its constituent members
will press by Member States of the great world powers represented in it.

ORZESIO (W d) Les traductions de mandatu l R gna Italia a d P lita
d C ltr 30(39) D 93 p 57-21
Th ons qu es f th t ow ld wars strikingly illustrate the principle that modern
wars are evolutionary whereas peace is conservative. The two conflicts have given
rise to a political vitalization which has enabled the principle of nationalities
to find its right place in the system of the peoples to govern themselves has provoked an outburst of nationalities
and the right of self-determination which creates economic instability and unparalleled
nationalism. The international system of the peoples to govern themselves has created an unparalleled
spirit of internationalism and the boldness of distant horizons has contributed to the
fading of nationalisms and the boldness of distant horizons has contributed to the
our eyes. The world problems are expressed in radical different terms than before
must be sought in the international plan. Whatever contradictions it may be
subject to international solidarity has become a categorical imperative of the modern

in detail with the teaching of political economy sociology anthropology social psychology and law

PROTECTION OF CULTURAL PROPERTY

Les Techniques de Protection des Biens Culturels en cas de Conflit 1^{re}me by H Lavachery and A Noblecourt 1954 22 p printed plus 48 p of photographic plates 1 500 French frs

[Pr] Handbook written for all persons who in the event of armed conflict may have to arrange for the protection of monuments of art and history museums libraries and archives which are part of the cultural heritage of mankind A clear description is first given of the direct and indirect dangers to which cultural property may be exposed by modern warfare after which the authors explain the practical steps that should be taken in case of need Bibliography

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[Ej Org] Brief account of the history of relations between research workers and of scientific emulation since the Renaissance analysis of the reasons for the emergence of new problems in these fields especially with regard to nuclear physics and account of the origin development and functions of the European Organization for Nuclear Research the International Laboratory in Geneva etc

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ORGANIZATION REVIEW ANNOUNCEMENTS

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF PERIODICALS

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

FORDA (G. A.) *Les sciences politiques et sociales* 31(4) Oct Dec 1933 p 412-20
Revue de la politique internationale
 Th ev l to of internat nal policy ce the second wo ld war has created a veritabl
 p blem with rega d t regi nal pa ts a d the infl ence an the system f collect ie
 ecurity
 l general regionalism t ds to p os ke s pur t of pol u alex lus vsm n omp tible
 with the eeds of internat nal co-operat o and to nd e the gnat ry states to
 regi nal gremie t eglect th ur internat nal bl gat ons Moreover this system
 m lik ly t encourag the f rmat n f hostile blocs a s tuat m hghly unfavourable
 to th m int na of pea

As regards their effect on the fun t ng of the United N t m regi nal pactis n
 sp t f th p ows m f Art cles 52 53 and 54 of th Charter do n t p pca very
 lik ly t assist th Ogan t n n t task of ensuring international security Reg onal
 rganizat ns h uld un e th will t power based on the tech que of spheres
 f infl en Th ir utility with egard to lectu e ecurity seems to res de ma nly
 in th rgan equal b um, whu h soev tably nd u n the pol ucal strategy

WRIGHT (Q.) *Economic and Political Conditions of the World Stability The Journal*
of Economic History 3(4) a tums 93 p 363-77
 Whereas th n t century was peaceful prosperous and democratic, the twent th
 e tury whu h s nfi tly m e marked by bloodshed is chara ter red by p ogress in
 technol gy nd o gaizat n

Th modern w ld ems capabl f tw k ds f equal brium e based on the law
 f larg umbers the th n th nat nal gan t on of oc ety Only the first—
 pur ly tatist cal d inhuma —ca be maintained n th p sent system of nt r
 natu nal el t ns In d t achv th seco d men th r f rts to establish an
 inter ual oc ty must espe t everal fundamental princ ples In ge r l wo ld
 tability will be establ h d nly if ec n m cs and pol tics—two doma ns requ rn
 radically d ffer t m th ds f rganizat n—remu as ind pendent f ea h other as
 possibl M p tcul ly d n th immediate futur the United Nat on will be
 bl t carry ut ts w k f internat nal tability only if ts agents rema n fee f om
 ll p es ur by M mb States d if ll th great wo ld powers represented in it

ORMES V (H. d.) *Les traductions du traité de la Rassegna Italiana di Politica*
d'Europa 3 (349) D 953 p 507-21
 Th ns q es f th tw wo ld wars strikingly illustr t the princ pl that modern
 w r f ev l u n ry wh eas pea is c nservat Th tw confis ts have g r n
 ru t p l ta liz t which has epla d th bourgeois civiliz n of
 th n t n t n ry Since g r g th ppl at n f the princ pl of national des
 d f th right f th peoples to g ern thmsel es has p ked an outburst of natio-
 nalism. M n tary nstability wh h creates eco omic nstability an unparall led
 sp t f in nt ns d the bol t on f hab ts d custom e ha also contrib ted to the
 fundam tal cr nsf r m t f hab ts d custom e ha also contrib ted to the
 ur eyes ll d p bl ms e exp esed n radically different terms their solut m
 must be ought th int mat onal plane T whatever co traditions t may be
 subject, ternat l l darity has become a categorical imper tve of the modern

world. One of the most urgently needed ways of giving expression to it would be the establishment of an international demographic relief fund that would enable the world's population to be more rationally distributed.

ALEXANDROWICZ, ALEXANDER (C. H.) *Vertical and Horizontal Divisions of the International Society. The Indian Yearbook of International Law*. Diocesan Press, 1952. 3 p. 88-96.

By the

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... the international sphere. International co-operation would be impossible if there were no common functional interests which can be effectively protected only by specialized agencies. It is true that action by states can help to ensure economic and social progress on the international plane, but it is the horizontal activity of international organizations that must give the greatest results. In this respect the author regrets that international events of a political nature seem more important than the constructive work of the Specialized Agencies. The necessary suppression of certain vertical barriers certainly involves risks, but private initiative must succeed in dispelling the fears of the politicians. It therefore seems desirable that there should be a more limited form of autarchy to permit of a favourable evolution of the economic relations between states.

LEONTIEV (B.) *Meždunarodnoe sotrudničestvo i mir* (International co-operation and peace). *Novyy Mir* 12, 1953, p. 208-17.

The author discusses the problem of the maintenance of peace with special emphasis on the necessity of establishing peace between the ... Soviet countries have acquired the right to

no other country can overlook this fact ... part of his study co-operation between the five great powers on the Security Council. The unanimity principle is the only one that leads to the peaceful solution of all international problems without prejudice to the interests of any nation. The accusations made by the United States against the U.S.S.R. with regard to the so-called abuse of the veto are not justified. In fact, as the solutions recommended by the United States directly menace the security of the Soviet countries, the latter are entitled to defend that security by all lawful means. However, the problems that have been left in abeyance could be rapidly settled if the United States agreed to a reasonable discussion without opposing a priori every form of compromise. Lastly, the author warns against recourse to a policy of force: any state resorting to such a policy would be denounced and would have to fight alone. In conclusion, the author contrasts the attitude of the U.S.A.—Aggressors in Korea—and that of the U.S.S.R.—which is resolved to safeguard peace.

THE UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL

JEBB (SIR G.) *The Free World and the United Nations. Foreign Affairs* 31(3) April 1953, p. 382-91.

There can be no question of a comparison between the present situation of the United Nations and that of the League of Nations when confronted with the Axis powers. The issue here is the rivalry between two blocs, each of which comprises half of the world's population. As long as men of the Stalinist type predominate, it will not be possible to speak of collective security.

It is no less certain that if the Soviet Union were excluded from the United Nations, the world would be reduced in practice to the nations at present belonging to the Pan American Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—organizations which are

ORGANIZATION REVIEWS ANNOUNCEMENT

undoubtedly more firmly established than the UN itself. However, the role that the UN can play in the event of wars of aggression is by no means negligible. It can play a role in the organization of the General Assembly on the basis of the 'Uniting for Peace' Resolution in order to coordinate the positions of the peace-loving states. In general, the UN is still vital in order to convince the economically underdeveloped countries that the idea that the 'Western Imperialists are hostile to them is only a myth.

BENNETT (Rod If G) Es c y trajectory na d l bloc
and activity f the Africano-ist bloc
ber 1953 24 p 9-2
Th Afr c As

and they are only a myth.

BENJAMIN (Rd If G) Es c y trayect ria d l bloque africano-asiat co (Nature and activity f the Africano-Asiat bloc) Cuaderno d Estudios Africano Decem ber 1953 24 p 9-2

Th Afr c As b bloc which was const t ed in 1951 p oved particu rly effecti e during th f urth ex n f the United Nations General Assembly Animated by a m n deal of self-d terminat n th countries belonging to this bloc combat all f rms f lonization o trusteeship on th principle that all peoples re nt led to go ern them l es Th Afrn Asiatic bloc has gr wn up around the nu leus formed by th Arab Le gue, a d ths gives it cohes n and makes it ware of the efficacy of concerted action n the international plan At the U N G neral Assembly it won the pport f the So th American c untries which while f l u wing n independent pol cy ha e simla interests to defend There is thus bei g f rmed a group f countries es l ed t defend th ghts f the small o med um tates and representative enough t hamp on th dema ds f the col u ed races Th influen e of the U c As auc bloc n internat nal pol cy p rucula ly dun g the discuss on f quest ons concerning N rth Africa, howed th t the great powers must hencef rth reckon w th ths g oup of small tates

E. B Th Eighth Assembly f th United N n us 11-12-53 9-10-53 p 9-10

Th thgh sess n f the U ted N n s after th Korean m nstr

ns derabl

The 8th session of the United Nations General Assembly was the first to be held after the Korean armistice and the death of Stalin and it was therefore expected that no dramatic progress would be made towards the solution of the main international problems. In fact, although the results were not entirely negative, this session did not fulfil the hopes placed in it, and progress achieved in the entire assembly was the fruit of a desperate effort. The same number of speeches and the same flow of ratification during the previous session were devoted to international tensions—but the Korean problem was left as well as other causes of international tensions—the Korean General Assembly and the energy of the two fundamental questions of general policy—disarmament and atomic energy. The two fundamental questions of general policy—disarmament and atomic energy. The two fundamental questions of general policy—disarmament and atomic energy.

T RUMAN (G) N t us Unies Esenb wer post le p blém anéaniment on
 p grs ocal Labor 26(6-7) Dec. 1953 J n. 1954 p 141 46
 Th most important event of th ghth es n f the United N tions General Assembly
 was und btedly P es d at Esenbower's dd ess on the fur development f atomic
 energy Th tress p d t th P es dent gr v nd sin ere words howed that the
 ld wa a d th rmaments ra ca ull th main p occupat n in the international
 sphere.
 Conseq ently th q est n of disarmament occup ed n important pl ce n the
 discuss na el t g th establishment f pccal fund for the economi devel pment
 of und rdev l ped utries in the financing f this f nd cemed closely bound
 p with th ed t of expend tur n rmaments As t the work of the Third
 Committee oc l human tarian nd cultural quest ns t was characterized by the
 hab tual and useless rat cal disp tes between the Um n f So et Socialist Republ cs
 d th capitalist countries with eg rd to the tw quest ns of f ced labour and
 prison rs f wa

[illegible]

La 30 (M J) La R f r m a d la Carta de la ONU y l t (The ref rm of the United Nations Charter a d th vet) *Jur d Jur Obs* 2 5 J n 1954 P 46-57
 Originally established in order to consolidate the nity f the B g Th ce th cto has
 p dly bec m f the f e perma t m mbers of the Secu ty Co n l a c nven nt
 means f p rals g th General Ass m bly a d prevent ng the p ope r cto g f
 th United N t ns The exsten of the t p events a p r n a y e rous re v n of the
 Charter d th d mss n t the Orgaizat of y c w m mber There eth ce
 poss b l t n s the ma tenanc f th *status quo* the bol n f the veto u
 co t r l A clos examination f the Cha ter suggests that t would be ad isable t make
 a disti ction between questi ns f p oced which w ld only equ e 7 votes a d
 q estions of b stan whi h w ld eq u so tes n order to be settled by th Secu
 rity Coun il A clause uld be adopted hereby n t ons v t ng ga nst h dees ns
 w uld t be bound by them

RUDZINSKI (A. W.) Domestic Jurisdiction in United States Practice *Ind Quarterly*
 9(4) Oct. II c 1953 P 313 54
 The S Fran sco Conferen considered t necessary to lmit the United N t ons

field f tivities t matters falling outs de th d mestu jurisd ct n of Member States
 I pr ctu this limit t n has not been lea y en h defined pa t cul ly n th case
 f the Uni of S th Africa and France Act on by th United N t ons impos sible if
 t tucula matter falls within th d mestu jurisd ct n f the states concerned
 if h t o w uld constitute n int rve t on n th sense l d cated n Art cle 2
 paragraph 7 f the Cha ter Thus t s essent al t d termin whi h matters f ll with n
 th d mestu jurisdicu f a stat —a fundame tal quest on whi h g ves rise to n
 essa t disp tes between the Arab-Asiatic bloc a d the col n z powers

Mo ow (W) Observati ns ur l sfar des fo t o na m am e r n s c ng é s
 pa l Secrétaire Gé éral à la dema d du gou ernem nt des États Unis *P litique*
 f gtr 6 Jan 1954 p 501 21
 An examinati n f th Un ted N t ns Cha ter d of th staff egul t ons adopted by

th General Assembly 2 F bruary 1952 shows that th legal st u n of Un ted
 Nat ns f f als is based essentially on the dependen e u d r s th governments of
 Member States nd th cunty f th u employment Th op n given n 29 No-
 ember 952 by the Committee f Jurists et p tudy th case of the off als dismissed
 by th S tary-Gener l s pent cr t um n ma y expects It is based n th prin-
 cipl that th l k l i hood of a tern t l f f al engag g n ub ern act tes
 ga nst th host untry is uff ent t justify his dismissal Owing to t complete la k
 f bjectivity thus tern whi h was nevertheless n ked n th Secr tary General
 decs w ld if maintained creat unsurmountabl difficult es M eover the op n on
 f th j rists nd th m asures tak n by the S tary General a e n flagra t contra-
 d t n w th th United N t ns Charter nd the principles p ocl med n Art cles 10
 nd of th Un ersal Decl rat f Human Rights If the new Secr tary Ge éral
 wishes t d l w n g the p esug of th Sec etariat y f rther h must c mply
 with th j dgment g n by the United N t ons Administ r T bunal o t Sep-
 t mber 1953 f ll v n g the p p eal by th dismissed ff c l s a d red es the err rs
 al eady m m tted

KAYS R (J) Les p blèmes d l informati n deva t les N t ons Unies—le pport
 d M Lopez dress bilan t nst tu n base de départ *Etud d p* V(8)
 winter 93 P 29 35
 I 952 M S l ad Lopez delegat fo the Phil ppines was nstructed t ubm t
 t th Eco mu a d Social Coun il ec m mdati ns ega d g pract cal u n
 whi h might be tak n by the Council n rder to urn unt those bsta les t the fuller
 enjoyment f f eed m f nf rmati n whi h can be mounted at the p esc t tun
 I an hist cal introd u th p p o rieur emphas es n part cula that the intens
 ficati f th ld wa has t r b ted t the f s l ure f the ttempt t cure the
 internatu nal org nizat f f eed m f nf rmati n Hs nalysis f the p rticula

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 wth UNESCO and the UNth as countries this coth is equality between the
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 by a co-ordinating body meeting once

LERICHE (A.) Les missions permanentes auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies
Revue de Droit International de Sciences diplomatiques et politiques 31(4) Oct-Dec 1953
 p 406-11

Although only the States represented on the Security Council are obliged by the United Nations Charter to maintain a permanent representative at the Organization's headquarters it has become a practice for Member States to appoint permanent missions in spite of the fact that there is no obligation on that matter. The credentials of the permanent representative as the main that of respect is to ensure liaison with their is to ensure continuity between the various sessions of the Assembly and the Councils. This of course does not exclude the and heads of government

1
 23 January 1954 p 181-83

The fundamental task of the United Nations Fourth Committee on Trusteeship is to ensure the application of Article 76 of the Charter in the administration respect. Unfortun-try to create p of the unification have provided them has merely the work of the Administering Authorities. Apart from this blameworthy attitude and the obvious abuse of the right of petition the Fourth Committee is tending more and more to exceed its original terms of reference. For instance it has established a Committee on Information from Non-self-governing Territories and the *ad hoc* Committee on Factors (Non-self-governing Territories) whose interventions are likely to complicate still further the task of the Administering Authorities. The committee maintains quite unreasonably its demands for self-government and independence without taking into account progress or the wishes of the people and the dismemberment of Nations.

Proposition relative à la création d'un Fonds spécial des Nations Unies pour le développement économique. *Commission des Caraïbes Bulletin mensuel d'information* 7(3)
 Oct 1953 p 12 and 13

A committee appointed by the Secretary-General

Secretary-General

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is that the development of these
 is greatly assisted by the additional contribution of non-commer

gerence must satisfy similar conditions. Nevertheless confusion reigns in the very often the relations between belligerent and non-belligerent states. The resulting confusion of international law is the result of the fact that international law is not a single system but a collection of rules which international law

the field of international law is undermined by the concept of non-belligerence which it should provide against aggression.

CASTBERG (Frede) L'influence du Droit des gens sur le développement du droit international. 1953 p. 53-63. 8vo.

The author points out that the security of states is the basis of international law. In all civilized countries in time of peace international rules are frequently sacrificed to motives tending to ensure the security and peace of states in conditions which are contrary to the law. In fact numerous legal provisions are in force which are reasons for impairments of a high degree of security of states.

These are accepted as valid

FREEMAN (Harrop A.) Some Frontiers for International Administrative Law. *The Indian Year Book of International Affairs* 1955 Madras Doosan Press 1952 53 p. 46-64. The development of international administrations even more than that of political organizations constitutes a functional approach to peace. In fact these first must gradually settle the international problems that divide states. After defending this argument the author examines the activities of the International Monetary Fund and the recommendations of the United Nations. Thus to a certain extent the United Nations political organs are limited by the concept of exclusive jurisdiction mentioned in paragraph 7 of Article 2 of the Charter. The author recommends that a specialized agency be provided with exclusive jurisdiction over the administration of radio and atomic energy.

At the present time radio and atomic energy are limited by the concept of exclusive jurisdiction mentioned in paragraph 7 of Article 2 of the Charter. The author recommends that a specialized agency be provided with exclusive jurisdiction over the administration of radio and atomic energy. He hopes that the progress of international administration will enable a practical solution to be found.

KHALDER NAVAZ (Mahomed) Criminal Jurisdiction and International Law. *The Indian Year Book of International Affairs* 1955 Madras Doosan Press 1952 53 p. 210-17.

The author analyses from the point of view of International Law the provisions of the Indian penal code of 1860. He shows that the principle of territoriality of all state jurisdiction is in accordance with the provisions of the Indian penal code. He shows that the principle of territoriality of all state jurisdiction is in accordance with the provisions of the Indian penal code. He shows that the principle of territoriality of all state jurisdiction is in accordance with the provisions of the Indian penal code.

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 however th l ther are numerous
 becaus of internat onal imm n tes
 t icts f n constitut ve elements He emphasizes
 except ons t these rules of juris ct e th
 tate practice

KESSA RAO (C) Ca il Jurisd ct and I ternat onal Law *The Indian Yearbook of International Aff* 1952 M dras Doctan Press 19 2 53 p 218-28
 Th tat has supreme tho ty j rsd ct n to c tr l l pers ns and p erty
 within n terr torial limits It cannot however extend its j ud t beyond the
 th rized limits a d n p r tula can ot v olate the rules f internat nal la
 Thus t can t exercise is juris ct over persons a d things with wh ch it ha no
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 th espe t territories

PASTO COSTADO (Ca los Albert) El esp o ereo (dominium ca l) (Au pace)
Revista d l Inst t d Derecho I ternacional 1952 no 16 p 43-68
 Is pa diveded between th respectu juris d tions of the va ous states or is t
 fee spa tiliz bl by aircraft f all national tes The a thor crit cizes the theory
 f r ones pl ci g rta port ns f r sp c nnder th sover gnty f a particula
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 high eas in maritime law It is true that the Chicago Conve n n, in cognizing the
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 bel g t th tat b t this doctrin is val d only p t certain alt tud Referr g to
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 f material pos es on. Thus p bo n altitud f 1500 m should c nsitut
 lin f immunitat n wh h is t subject to th s p eme a thorty f tates
 How er this dea wh h is based on l w has ot been g ven pract cal appl cat n
 the internat nal pl d th dea of ght f way' t uest be epted by all
 nau ns

M RE A Q L TANA (L.) El ma ual d Ord rd y la guerra maritima (The Oxford
 manual d maritum wa) *Revista del Inst t d Der ho Internacional* 1952 n 16
 p 718
 This ma ual pp oved by the Inst tute of Internat nal Law in O tober 1913 is of
 doctrin l interest f th study f th l w s lating t maritum wa between states
 As analys g th nd t ns in wh h th m nual was drafted th uth exami es
 is doctrinal val d trug e. H lls th tw interp etations g en to the manual
 by p bl sts S m ha ma tamed that is rules ppl ly t th high seas th r
 firm, th trary that these rules ar l s ppl cabl t territ rial wat rs I te
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 d pra tic l calities Consequently f m th l gal po t of cw th autho ag es
 w th thos w ll f ou th first interp etat n In c n lus n h emphas es that in

spite of the differences of opinion among the publicists all the rules of the manual have been universally recognized thus making it one of the first bodies of regulations for the conduct of war to be accepted on the international plane

REITH (Charles) *International Authority and the Enforcement of Law - The Grotius Society Transactions for the year 1952 Problems of Public and Private Intern*

Grotius Society vol 38 1952 p 100 21

The employment of—

international plan

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exist before military forces can go into action—in part cular a decision has been drawn

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and give it the real force it now lacks

INTERNATIONAL PENAL LAW

SORTILE (A) *Le Pape Pie XII et le Droit pénal international*

national de Sciences diplomatiqu

The establishment of an Interna

but useful and necessary Its e

likely disturber of world peace

—hitherto unsolved—of defining aggression Likewise a penal code is necessary for

the repression of international crimes

The United Nations must consider the establishment of this court and the drafting of this code as one of its most urgent tasks Up to the present a large number of distinguished jurists have supported these arguments Pope Pius XII completely concurred with them in his address to the International Congress of Penal Law on 3 October 1953 in Rome After emphasizing the importance of international penal law in the modern world the Pope enumerated a number of offences which should be punished in accordance with an international penal code and defined the foundations of such a code as well as the guarantees which international penal procedure must offer to the accused

GOLDENBERG (A V) *Le Droit pénal et la Communauté Européenne de Défense*

Revue Internationale de Policing criminelle 9(75) Feb 1954 p 46-48

Those provisions relating to penal law in the Europe

deserve to be better known

this subject First of all it

of international penal law

Communauté being instruct

all actions undertaken b

of international police

mental principles which

law will have to guarantee

HUMAN RIGHTS

WEGNER (Arthur) Die Stellung der Einzelperson im Prozess
(The status of the individual in modern
international law and the philosophy of

The number of refugees and displaced persons has increased in the last few years committed in the
conduct of the war have made it necessary to define the rights of the individual on the
international plane. This need was met by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
adopted in December 1948 and the Geneva Convention on the treatment of prisoners
of war and the protection of civilians persons during time of war adopted in August 1949.
The author states however that there is no parallel recognition of the duties of man.
The latter concept must be defined particularly with regard to wartime application
so that the conduct of hostilities does not violate the rules based on the fundamental
principles of international law. Consequently it is necessary to define these principles
in regard to categories of legal orders that find a basis in the domain
of private law that find that of spiritual values and the Churches. All these legal orders
groups and lastly that of spiritual values and the Churches. All these legal orders
must be based on the recognition of the rights and duties of man, in all fields. Persons
limits must therefore be set to take action, either by the establishment of procedures
for dealing with wars if this does not prove successful by imposing rules of conduct
for wars is if

UHLER (Oscar M.) La pers... humaine dans l'Etat. Content de Genève. Revue
Internationale de la Croix Rouge Jan. 1954, p. 11-24
The examination of Article 27 of the Fourth Geneva Convention indicates that the
protection of civilian persons during war. The Convention stipulates that all persons
protected by the hall be treated humanely in accordance with the fundamental rights
and freedoms affirmed by the Hague Regulations. In this respect it requires
that states shall not only refrain from certain prohibited acts but shall take steps to
prevent their commission to such acts and shall also assist the victims. These
provisions apply in particular to the treatment of women who are special
protected. The author emphasizes the fact that the United Nations General Assembly
political discrimination but admits that the United Nations might be involved in
enabling necessary measures to be taken so that the observance of the rule and the security of the
state. However these measures must be taken so that the observance of the rule and the security of the
the measures adopted for these reasons must not violate the fundamental rights
recognized by the Convention.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

JONES (R.) L'assistance technique aux pays sous-développés sous les auspices de
l'ONU. Revue de Sciences Economiques 28(96) Dec 1953 p. 221-40
The first technical assistance programme was to be financed fully out of the
dinary budget of the United Nations. The Expanded Programme of Technical
Assistance draws its funds from a pool made up of contributions by the
United Nations Member States. These funds are distributed among the United Nations
Specialized Agencies which in their respective fields co-operate in the
common task, which is to help underdeveloped countries to obtain the greatest possible
material and social benefit from an adequate technical and economic development.
This assistance which takes various forms is designed to put an end to the man
weaknesses of these countries through predominantly agricultural economic development
and modernization of the economic framework. The expectation is that within the next few years
the international economic organization will be able to meet the needs of the
the efforts of international organizations in the use of equitable international support
policies for production and distribution and consumption.

MENDÈS FRANCE (P) L'Assistance aux pays sous-développés
France et Parlement 5(47) 1954 p. 1

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 in relation to local
 efforts must be concentrated on the development of
 agricultural production must increase more rapidly than the
 population this is a vital point Again technical assistance must not be exclusively
 economic a considerable part of it must be in the form of
 of living and cultural standards
 expansion Special efforts must
 number of experts needed for
 these efforts by the United Nations it is to be hoped that
 favour of underdeveloped countries will be
 successful other nations will also derive immense collective benefit from them

L'Assistance technique aux pays sous-développés - *Bulletin du Conseil National du*
Point français 8(116) 5 March 1954 p. 13 18

Granted their fundamental purpose which is to provide the beneficiary countries with
 the basic elements of modern civilization technical assistance plans must
 ever closer relations between the two
 this is a

The programme
 training of
 countries—are already numerous The Point Four
 programme the foundations of which were laid by President Truman in 1949 has
 already made it possible to achieve considerable results although the projects contained
 in it are by their very nature long term projects The United Nations Technical
 Assistance Programme benefits by the financial contributions of all Member States
 and the co-operation of all Specialized Agencies Its budget increases every year
 and projects requiring new methods of international financing are under consideration
 In addition to these two plans there are the Colombo Plan and the French bilateral
 system of technical assistance French industrialists should realize that their duty
 as well as their interest enjoins them to take an ever larger part in the technical
 assistance programmes

HARTUS (A) Weniger Illusionen über unterentwickelte Gebiete (Fewer illusions
 about underdeveloped countries) *Der Volkswirt* 18(11) 13 March 1954 p. 16-17

Considerable illusions are at present entertained with regard to underdeveloped
 countries In the first place President Truman's Point Four is not just another Marshall
 Plan on behalf of these countries but simply a means

Further even if a more
 within the framework of
 those generally anticipated
 are not only new but
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 the abundance
 The problems

caused by demographic pressure which
 results achieved in the economic field India
 in itself it must be preceded by the ratona
 Only then and provided it is cautious as
 produce the desired results

DREYER (J J) 'The Economic Development of Underdeveloped Colonial Territories
 in Africa' *Commerce and Industry* 12(3) Nov. 1953 p. 131 39

Numerous factors have contributed to the development of underdeveloped territories
 in Africa The second world war which obliged the Allied Powers to seek elsewhere
 the raw materials they could no longer find in the East led to the first serious efforts
 toward the economic development of these territories After the war the colonial

powers to ed these efforts in rd t ed th gap n the bal e of p yments
The demand f raw materials ncreas g as internat onal t ns ngrew had mu h the
sam result. At the same tum th international g a izat ns a d the United States
wer undertaking sy temat c programmes of devel pment wh h had a decis v
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prov ded by th M tual Security Agency a d the Internat onal Bank f n
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this ru t n will be remed d d
Geogr w ll
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BALABRIVA (Dr R) U derdevel pment. A World Econom Liability Th
Indian Yearbook f International Aff 952 Madras Docean Press 1952 53
p 6 77

Th underdevel ped ountries of As and th Middle East a e affected by a dynam c
f to th cons derable and regula ncrease of their populat on Thus f ctor should h lp
t ensur th econ mic devel pment b t th wa which led to th independence
als caused d turb es n the d mest pol tics and the result g instabl ty ham
pered their industrialization nd agricult ral p od ct vity Th Asiatic has obligat ons
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f th Westerner There e the means employed to r medy this t tuat on must n t
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on mu dev l pment. Neverth less t would be us les to think of undertaking this
expans without f gn d Conseq ntly internat nal institut ons Point Four nd
th Colombo Pl n, h an importa t p rt to play Underdeveloped countries thus
nst tut experimental field f ternat nal co-operat on and t tervent on by the
tat th e mu f ld

TRUST TERRIT IES

CURCI (Ca l) Il p blem l niale (The lo ial p blem) Stud pol tics Year II
nos 34 Sept 193 F b 1934 p 462 79
Th S F cis Conf en dealt th final blow t the great colonial emp es wh ch
had l dy been ns derably haken by the wa Inf t, the United N t ns Charter
l ys d wn p ecus rules f th cont l f n -self-g v rning territor es and establ hes
a Trusteesh p Coun d wh h is ntitled t accept and xami e pet t ns by the peoples
f thes territor es S ppo ded by all th tates th t r hostil to th v rious forms f
l nual m espe ally the As u ountries no s lf governing territ nes are therefor
gradually hieving depe d n
A rd g to th thor th United States has played a vital part n this ev l t ion
rad cally ppos d t the trad t nal l n l pol cy t has supported the aspirations of
l tates e dea gt fee them l es from th t trusteesh p exercised by th adm nst
tering powers Thus the ncept f col y has lmost f llen out f us nd deas wh
wer nersally epted t th end f the metee th century cga d g th con ex on
between col nizat n d the p ogress f c r lization and the part played by mis
es f m highly-devel ped ountries ould not be exp esed today without a us ng
th l iest protest It is t nly the dea f colonizat n is lf that has been discredited,
b t also th l es th Western states ep es nt. Animated by pint of aggress e
nat nal m tates that ha ently q ed their i dependen e pposed to the
Eur pea f rm f vilizat n, wh h they j ct as wh l without trying t
understand t. H wever th p blem f th ec mic devel pment f non-s lf go erning
erronies cannot be l ed with ut co-oper t b tween f lly devel ped states and

MENDÈS FRANCE (P) L'Assistance aux pays sous-développés (Le Point IV) 7
France et Parlement 5(47) Feb 1954 p 24

Certain fundamental pr
 techn cal assistance In
 conceived in relation to
 y is general and not simply in relation to local
 problems Moreover not all the efforts must be concentrated on the developmen of
 industr al production agricultural production must
 population this is a vital no

is to be hoped that
 the labour of underdeveloped countr will be
 other nations will also derive immense collective benefit from them

L'Assistance technique aux pays sous développés *Bulletin du Conseil National du*
Pat onat français 8(116) 5 March 1954 p 13 18

Granted their fundamental purpose which is to provide the benefic ary countries with
 the basic elements of modern civ lization technical ass st
 ever closer relations between

in it are by
 Assistance Pr
 e financial contr but ons of all Member States
 and the co-operation of all Specialized Agencies Its budget increases every yea
 and projects requiring new methods of internat onal financing are under cons de ation
 In addition to these two plans there are the Colombo Plan and the French bilateral
 system of techn cal assistance French industr alists should realize that the r duty
 as well as their interest enjoins them to take an ever larger part in the technical
 ass stance programmes

KARIUS (A) Weniger Illusionen über unterentwickelte Geb ete (Fewer illusions
 about underdeveloped countries) *Der Volksst* 8(11) 13 March 1954 p 16 17

Considerable illusions are at present entertained with regard to underdeveloped
 countries In the first place Pres dent Truman s Point Four is not
 Plan on behalf of these count es

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oped countries
 he abundance
 The problems
 essu e which

is raised and usually tends
 in itself it must be preceded by the rat ona
 Only then and provided it is cautious a
 produce the des ed results

DREYER (J J) The Economic Development of Underdeveloped Colonial Territories
 in Africa *Commerce and Industry* 12(3) Nov 1953 p 131 39

Numerous factors have contributed to the development of underdeveloped territories
 in Africa The second world war which obliged the Allied Pow ers to seek else he e
 the raw materials they could no longer find n the East led to the first se us efforts
 towards the economic development of these territories After the 1945 the col l

powers c t d the eff is in order to ed the gap n the b la ce of paym ts
 Th dema d f w materials ncreasing as internat nal organizat ns a d the United States
 same result. At th m tim th internat nal organizat ns a d the United States
 were und taking systematic p ogrammes f devel pment which ha e had a decive
 ff t Neverth less cr us p bl ms till emai nd the Internat nal Bank for Rec nstruc
 p o d d by th M tual Security Ag cy nd the Internat nal Bank for Rec nstruc
 t n d Dev l pment Africa co t nces t offer f m a great hortag f capital and
 this insti will be remed ed only by a c n sderable increase in pri at investments
 Geographical f ctors (the inhosp table b zks f n ers that a e raly navigable) as
 w ll as huma f tors (trop cal diseases a d th psych logy of the nat ves) cre te p oblems
 that just as difficult o overcome However the efforts already made by the colonial
 powers— d more p ticular ly th Union of South Africa—ha e p o d ced abundant
 results as th statistics how

BALAKRISHNA (Dr R) Underdevelopment. A World Economic Liability. The
 Indian P book f International Aff 1952 Madras Docean Press 1952 33
 p 65 77

Th underdev l p d untries f As and the W d d East a e affected by a dynamic
 f t th considerable nd egul ncrease of the population. This fa tor ould help
 t ensure th r eco n devel pment b t the war which led to their independence
 so caused disturb es in th r domest c pol tics a d the result ng instabil ty ham
 pered th dustrializat n a d agricultural p oducti sty. The Asiatic has bl gat ons
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 f the Westerner. Therefo th means employed to remedy this s uat on must not
 destroy th trad t ec omu ref rces. As private investm ts are often very nadequate
 carry t importa t ec omu ref rces. As private investm ts are often very nadequate
 the tat must establish pl ns f investments nd dopt regulations lik ly to p omo
 ee omu development. Neverth less t would be useless t think of u dertaking this
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 th Colombo Pl n, ha an important part t play. Underdeveloped countries thus
 nstitut experimental field for intern t nal co-operat on and intervention by the
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TRUST TERRITORIES

CURIA (Ca l) Il p bl ms l niale (The olon al p blems) St d p l ita Yes II
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 l ys down p is rules f the trol f n elf-g erning territo es nd establ hes
 Trusteeship Coun d which is tled t accept d exam c petu ns by the peoples
 f thes territ nes S pported by ll th tates that a e hostile to th varous f rces f
 col n lum espec lly th Asiat
 grad ally h evr g depe d countr es no s ll g vern g territo es are therefore
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 rad ally pposed t th r d u nal l n l policy t has supported th aspirations of
 all tates endea uring t see them l ex fr m th trusteeship exercised by the admin-
 t n g pow rs. Thus th ept of col ny has almost fall n out f us d deas which
 er un crally t t th end f the mnet enth century ega d g the onnex on
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 anes f m highly dev l p d untries ould not be exp esed today without a using
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 b t so th al es th Western t tes ep esent. Animated by a spirit f ggress
 n o nalism tates that b ently a qu ed th r independ n e c pposed to th
 E ropea f m f vizat n wh h they ct as wh l without try g to
 dertand t H wever th p blems f the co mic devel pment of non-s ll g vern g
 territ nes no t be ! ed with ut co-oper t n between fully developed states and

backward territories and the nature of this co-operation on the international plane has still to be determined

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

Haut Commissaire des Nations Unies pour les réfugiés
Consultatif Informel

the High Commissioner is jeopardized by the inadequate of the funds allocated to the refugee problem. The committee also noted that the situation of refugees in China might be given to the High Commissioner. It is obvious that it would be of refugees rather than required.

BODZ (Dr) La Convention relative au statut des réfugiés. *Revue internationale de la Croix Rouge* 36(422) Feb 1954 p 123-28
The dimensions assumed by the refugee problem after the second world war led the United Nations to seek practical solutions—UNRRA then IRO—and legal solutions. The particular task of the United Nations in this field is to ensure legal protection for refugees on an international basis. It was to that effect that the representatives of 26 states published on 28 July 1951 the Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees which has just entered into force following on its ratification by a sixth signatory state Australia. An analysis of its contents shows that this convention although it still leaves much to be desired represents a great effort to improve the situation of refugees. It is to be hoped that a large number of states will ratify it and that the states of the Eastern bloc whose citizens constitute an important proportion of the refugees protected by the convention will also be among the signatories.

DISARMAMENT

INOLIS (D R) 'The H Bomb and Disarmament Prospects' *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 10(2) Feb 1954 p 41-45 and 64
With the invention of the H bomb the world has begun to realize the immense destructive power of atomic weapons. It is becoming ever more certain that both hostile camps have practically the same possibilities in this sphere. Perhaps the West no longer has the superiority which it has hitherto enjoyed. The frankness of the President's report suggests firstly the establishment of an organization designed to pool for peaceful purposes the world's knowledge and productive potentialities in the field of atomic energy. He then proposes the creation of a body for the control of atomic production and disarmament. These proposals which are closely linked with the problem of the revision of the United Nations Charter raise the question of the establishment of a world government which alone would be able to control the alarming progress of the destructive power of the atom.

ORGANIZATION REVIEWS ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

Rosev (S) L'exécution et la mise en vigueur des décisions de la Cour Internationale d'Justice. *Revue générale de Droit international* p 57(24) Oct. Dec 1953
 p 532-83
 Thesen fa international soverign authority capable of enforcing the judgments of the International Court of Justice as a peculiar character to the Court's decisions the execution entrusted by the moral obligation assumed by the various states. This obligation is clearly imposed by the terms of the Charter particularly by Article 94 paragraph 1. The non-observance by any state of judgment of the International Court constitutes international offence and gives the other party to the case the right to exercise coercive action. The latter must, however remain within the limits of international law. It must not, by threat or force, violate the political or territorial integrity of the state concerned. There are other limitations which are more specifically of the difficult to carry out the decisions of the United Nations as is shown by an analysis of the South West Africa case, for instance. The greatest index on confidence in the character of the problem of the execution of the judgments of the International Court of Justice with regard to everything concerning the life of States and international organizations.

FARRE (M) De la compétence de la Cour Internationale de Justice dans l'Affaire d'Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. *Revue générale de Droit international public* 57(24) Oct. Dec 1953 p 584-62
 When at the beginning of 1951 the Iranian Parliament passed a law nationalizing the oil industry throughout the whole of the national territory a dispute arose between the Government of Iran and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. The United Kingdom brought this dispute before the International Court of Justice in virtue of its right of diplomatic protection. The matter was submitted to the Court for its decision. The Court's lack of jurisdiction in the matter was regarded with regard to the 1930 declaration, by which it was held to be valid with regard to the matter. The Court's decision was based on the fact that it was not a dispute between the Court and the United Kingdom. The Court's decision was based on the fact that it was not a dispute between the Court and the United Kingdom.

JULI (L.) L'Affaire norvégienne des pêcheries devant la Cour Internationale d'Justice. *Revue générale de Droit international public* 57(24) Oct. Dec 1953 p 48-66
 The importance of the dispute between Norway and the United Kingdom is obvious before the International Court of Justice, as is clearly how by the United Kingdom's own translation of the decision of the International Court of Justice, it is intended to defend, by force of arms if necessary, its own rights in the waters of the International Court of Justice. The Court finally recognized the duty of the Norwegian Government to respect the rights of the United Kingdom in the waters of the International Court of Justice. The Court's decision was based on the fact that it was not a dispute between the Court and the United Kingdom. The Court's decision was based on the fact that it was not a dispute between the Court and the United Kingdom.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

LALOIRE (M) L'Organisation Internationale de Travail. *Revue nouvelle* 18(11) 15 Nov 1953 p 409 14

As the funds placed at its disposal are to be reduced the International Labour Organisation will be obliged to slow down its activities especially in the field of technical assistance to underdeveloped countries. Such a situation is both shocking and paradoxical. The high standard of living is steadily increasing. ILO's work in technical assistance is considerable. The delegates of the beneficiary countries have proclaimed the need for its continuation and even for its intensification. Underdeveloped countries need more technical assistance and statistics and more people to be trained in the geographical and demographic aspects. Technical assistance can produce results only after many years of efforts. ILO must be given the necessary means for continuing its work on a larger scale.

EGGERMANN (G) Le Conseil d'administration du BIT tient sa 123 session. *Labor* 26(6-7) Dec 1953/Jan 1954 p 147 51

During its 123rd session in November 1953 ILO's Governing Body made a large number of decisions, one of which concerned the convening of a European Regional Conference at the end of 1954. The conference will be held in London.

Important problems will be discussed: the need for workers' professional training in agriculture and the revision of the convention concerning protection against accidents (dockers).

SULKOWSKI (Dr) Les conférences régionales de l'Organisation Internationale de Travail. *Revue générale de Droit international public* 57(24) Oct-Dec 1953 p 613 30

Regional conferences inaugurated in 1935 have become one of ILO's regular activities. According to the rules concerning their powers, functions and procedure these conferences are attended mainly by delegations from each state or territory invited by the International Labour Organisation, an ambiguous formula which in fact refers to Member States and the other territories including trust territories. These conferences are also attended by a delegation from ILO's Governing Body and by representatives of international organizations (governmental and non-governmental). The functions of the conferences are fixed by the Constitution of the ILO.

The purpose of the regional conferences upon the Governing Body is shown by another provision in the statutory rules empowering the Governing Body to decide on the validity of the credentials of delegates to the conferences.

THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION

NORDLANDER (C H) FAO's Verksamhet (The activities of FAO). *Jordbruk och Skogsskifte* 16(1) Jan 1954 p 3 13

The last conference of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) held in Rome in December 1953 marked an important stage in its development. Whereas during a previous session it had been decided to make a general effort to increase agricultural production, it is interesting to note that this time FAO recom-

mended elective efforts confined mainly to the products most in demand and to the countries which are still most dependent on foreign aid. The conference did not fail to reflect satisfactory solution to the problem of the disposal of agricultural surpluses. A special committee has been constituted to study this question. It was ther unanimously regarding the establishment of an International Institute for the study of the results achieved by FAO and of its importance and the budgetary contributions of Member States and of its profitable investments.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

Mémoires (C. L.) Q. ad rent id du Fonds Monétaire International *Revue Économique* M. h. 1954, n. 2 p. 252-6
In spite of unfavorable circumstances such as the persistence of international tensions or the difficulty by most countries of development programmes with a excessively inflationary tendency the International Monetary Fund has done valuable work during the first even years of its existence. Endeavouring to impose a method in the field of international exchange it has succeeded in promoting international financial co-operation, which has brought about a considerable improvement in the world payments situation and an important decrease in the restrictions imposed on international transactions. Its international character and the value of the information provided has enabled it to undertake numerous activities in the field of international assistance. Its achievements are no less remarkable in the field of information and documentation. R. entdecis d to lax the rules governing the right of members to draw on the Fund currency reserves—rules which had frequently given rise to criticism.

Les écentes décisions du Fonds Monétaire International et la concertation des monnaies *P. blème / nom que* 382 Fb 1954 p. 12
With the explicit intention of supporting nations wishing to make the currency convertible the International Monetary Fund Board of Executive Directors decided December 1953 to relax the rules governing the right of members to draw on the Fund currency reserves. It crease the duration of the loans granted from these reserves from six months to two years. This is a salutary step in view of the fact that convertibility might have their gold reserves with a kind of exchange rate flexibility in mind. In this way the Fund has made definite progress in the stabilization of international trade since 1945 the Fund's reserves from official markets has increased with greater flexibility. Similarly to keep pace with the expansion of international trade and the growth of the Fund's reserves from official currencies should be increased by proportionately augmenting the contributions of the United States and Canada.

BOOK REVIEWS

UNITED NATIONS

MANGONE (Ger. d. J.) *A Short History of International Organization* (McGraw Hill Series in Political Science) New York: Graw Hill Book Company 1954 326 p.
International organization is here taken in the broadest sense and the author deals with experiments in co-operation and the regulation of affairs between sovereign states.

from ancient Egypt to the Korean war. The first half of the book gives a bird-eye view of the development in both scope and size of the technique of nations meeting together or combining to solve their common problems. Mention is made of the inter-Aegean treaties prior to 338 B.C., early European leagues such as the Swiss Confederation of 1315, the Congress of Westphalia and the Hanseatic League, and the emergence of modern international relations through the Peace of Utrecht is traced.

Professor Mangone accords considerable space to a discussion of the treaties and congresses which took place in Europe during and immediately after the Napoleonic era, outlining the strength and weaknesses of the settlement which emerged from the Congress of Vienna and the breakdown of the consultative system at the end of the nineteenth century. He goes on to deal with a number of those nineteenth-century conventions which so successfully regulated international

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century shows how during the past 50 years the agencies then established have come to maturity and how many fields have been brought under some form of control by the Specialized Agencies of the League and the United Nations, ranging from the International Civil Aviation Organization to the administration of internationalized territory in Danzig, the Saar and Trieste. The work is rounded off with a study of selected examples of regional international organization, such as the various forms taken by the inter-American system, Arab collective action and the forces working towards European unity.

Professor Mangone's book is a valuable combination of the approaches associated with international relations, history, political science and international law, setting the already well-publicized activities of modern organizations in their proper perspective and historical background. Each chapter is carefully documented and there are appendices at the end of most chapters which give verbatim extracts from, or quote in *extenso*, selected documents pertinent to the matters just discussed—the Utrecht Peace Treaty, Covenant of the League of Nations, North Atlantic Treaty, etc.

HOFMANN (Stanley) *Organisations internationales et pour les politiques des États (Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques no. 54)* Paris: A. Colin, 1954. 428 p. 8vo.

The author sets out to determine the extent to which states have sacrificed or limited some of their powers of jurisdiction by the creation of international organizations. He also seeks by analysing the modes of procedure to define the influence exerted by these organizations in the fulfilment of the functions of a national

the necessary powers to make its influence fully felt. Its effect on the jurisdiction of states in political matters was limited by the inadequate legal means at its disposal. The United Nations on the other hand intervenes more effectively in the field of national jurisdiction, that is to be explained by the transfer of powers of jurisdiction to the Assembly and by the use of energetic methods of procedure. The United Nations however has exerted an influence only on small and medium-sized states and has had no effect on the satellites of the

BASTID (Suzanne) *La Jurisprudence de la Cour internationale de Justice (Revue des cours de l'Académie diplomatique internationale)* Paris Sirey 1951 p 579 636 8vo

The binding force of legal precedents confers on jurisprudence a leading role in the development of a legal system. The author studies from that standpoint the function of the International Court of Justice whose activity has led to the creation of the first rough draft of international jurisprudence. The author gives a systematic analysis of the decisions of the Court and classes each particular problem in a more general category. After dealing with the basic ideas of the competence and function of the Court the author then begins her survey with decisions relating to international conventions and the general principles of law. The concept of international law is precisely stated and in this connexion the position of civil servants is discussed. The position of the disputes shows the legal situation. The judgments and opinions of the Court are also discussed.

The position of the civil servants is discussed. The position of the disputes shows the legal situation.

THE POSITION OF THE LAW OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

INTERNATIONAL LAW

WEHBERG (Hans) *Krieg und Eroberung im Wandel des Völkerrechts* Frankfurt on the Main Alfred Metzner 1953 135 p 8vo

In the classic conception of international law recourse to war, the application of the principle of the just war, was accorded to every State as an attribute of its sovereignty. The outlawing of force as a means of settling disputes made its appearance only with the Covenant of the League of Nations and above all with the Briand Treaty. The territorial integrity of states is the foundation of the system.

These principles are the basis of international law that every unauthorized use of force against one or more states is regarded as illegal thus condemning all the principles which might justify the old law of conquest. In this evolution of international legal doctrine the author gives a special place to the doctrine of non recognition put forward by Secretary of State Stimson. He recognizes on of territorial changes.

THE POSITION OF THE LAW OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

THE POSITION OF THE LAW OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

PLISCHKE (Elmer) *International Relations Basic Document* New York Van Nostrand 1953 194 p 8vo

The author has collected and classified a number of documents designed to serve as a basis for the study of inter-state relations. The documents are arranged in notes dealing with the questions of international law and administration concerned with raised by international law and

Th auth also exami the co duct f f regu pol cy a d dipl mat c rights nd
 mazu tes the power d det eat es th tatus of terna onal bod es q est ons
 relat g t the cognio and independen of the stat marim nd a r law nd
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 lectu e security and th law of war The texts q ted re mostly taken from American
 law p ricularly th rules g vern g th a u n f the United St tes of America in
 th internat nal fi ld H rver an import nt pl is reserved f the United N t ons
 d the I ternational Court of Justu

CASIN (R.) *La de lar son un er lle t la ms en ana e d s d ts d l'homme* Paris S reg
 1951 80 (Recu il des cours d lac dém de dro t terna onal p 241 365)
 The protecti n and defenc f h man ghts hav th a basis nd acuire th r legally
 obligatry ch racter in the S n Fran sco Charter Indeed this task takes u pl ce
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 d defen f th rights pheld by the United Nations This would ha e to be supple-
 mented by pecial international measures p r t cul ly by granting to an organ of
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 H ma Rights The uth re cognizes howev that the idea of exclus ve nat onal
 eriguty will raise ma y difficulties sometimes un l ble

F WICK (Charles G.) The progress f intern u nal law dur g the past f rty years
 (Recu il de our de l'A adms de d t international) P rns Surey 1951 p 571 8vo
 Th thor draws p balance heet f impo tant p blms in terna onal law which
 ha taken dec e hape since th beginning f th entury In th f font f these
 problems h n tes th ma ked incurs on f intern t nal egul t ns int municipal
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GRACQ (Emil) *Le Secrétariat des gansuats ns internat nales* (Recu il de our
 d l'A adms de d t international) P rns Surey 1951 p 373 507 80
 N twinstad g th embl nces they may how i nats nal administr tions th
 ecretariats f internat nal rganizat ns p ecent problems whi h more of a
 political tha a legal ha cter Their rol is fairly easy to defin the essentia task
 is to collect the documentati n req uired for th work of d legates to p ep meetings
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 They ther f to be ranked as civil erra ns having cognized dut es t perform

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execute a part of the work which is entrusted to them. The author wishes with the conclusion of that task. Although the part played by the secretariats is important particularly in maintaining continuity in the activities of the international organizations the author emphasizes that their usefulness is independent of the usefulness of the organization itself. Their role is in fact limited and the improvement of their own structure does not mean an extension of their field of competence.

BRUCCILLERI (Angelo) *L'ordine internazionale* Rome la Civiltà Cattolica 1945 84 p 8vo

A theoretical study of international law shows that there exists at the base of state relations an ethical principle which is the basis of peace which is the basis of peace.

This concept is
Encyclical letter

the state whose
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ment In international practice

Among these must be reckoned
of the world and the reduction

problems is a basic cause of economic crises and wars. Inter-state co-operation adumbrated in the League of Nations should enable the United Nations to take decisive action. The author concludes his study with an analysis of the work of international organizations and the spiritual influence of the Church in inter-state relations.

MESSINEO (A) *Il diritto internazionale nella dottrina cattolica* Rome la Civiltà Cattolica 1945 418 p 8vo

The author divides

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and the right to self-defence are the most important. The second part of the book is devoted to a study of the prerogative of the state particularly the concept of sovereignty. The author begins by stating that autarchy is the essence of the state and proceeds to explain the Catholic doctrine of the equality of states on the legal level. If such a thing as a hierarchy exists in the international sphere it is *de facto* and not *de jure*. An analysis of the concept of sovereignty properly so-called shows that it has an absolute significance in the history of the international legal order. Nevertheless if the true principle of sovereignty is supreme power this power is limited by the recognition of certain fundamental rights of the individual and of human communities.

LENER (S) *Crimini di guerra e delitti contro l'umanità* Rome la Civiltà Cattolica 1948 159 p 8vo

An historical survey of international tribunals set up since the end of the first world war by the Treaty of Versailles up to and including the Nuremberg Tribunal makes it possible to draw a distinction between war crimes crimes against humanity and crimes against peace. This last category seems to the author to include not only acts difficult to penalize but crimes against

the stages of international justice of the Soviet and Nazi type. He concludes with a review of the solutions arrived at by the Nuremberg Tribunal underlining the ideological differences between the members of the Tribunal and the essentially political character of the trial. He comes to the conclusion that even if war

... is called in the
... finishes with the conclusion of that task.
The part played by the secretariats is important particularly in maintaining continuity in the activities of the international organizations the author emphasizes that their usefulness is independent of the usefulness of the organization itself Their role is in fact limited and the improvement of their own structure does not mean an extension of their field of competence

BRUCCILLERI (Angelo) *Lezioni internazionali* Rome la Civiltà Cattolica 1945 84 p 8vo

A theoretical study of international law shows that there exist state relations an ethical principle of peace which in Catholic doctrine This conception brings out the fit Encyclical letters such as that the state whose sovereignty is limited minorities ment In the Among these of the world problems cause of economic crises and wars Interstate co-operation, adumbrated in the League of Nations should enable the United Nations to take decisive action The author concludes his study with an analysis of the work of international organizations and the spiritual influence of the Church in interstate relations

MISSINEO (A) *Il diritto internazionale nella dottrina cattolica* Rome la Civiltà Cattolica 418 p 8vo

The author views into its four of the found out clearly the law of that so possible to place on a solid and the right to independence are the most important The second part of the book is devoted to a study of the prerogative of the state particularly the concept of sovereignty The author begins by stating that autonomy is the essence of the state and proceeds to explain the Catholic doctrine of the equality of states on the legal level If such a thing as a hierarchy exists in the international sphere it is *de facto* and not *de jure* An analysis of the concept of sovereignty properly so-called shows that it has an absolute significance in the history of the international legal order Nevertheless if the true principle of sovereignty is supreme power this power is limited by the recognition of certain fundamental rights of the individual and of human communities

LENER (S) *Crimini di guerra e delitti contro l'umanità* Rome la Civiltà Cattolica 1948 159 p 8vo

An historical survey of international tribunals set up since the end of the first world war by the Treaty of Versailles up to and including the Nuremberg Tribunal makes it possible to draw a distinction between war crimes crimes against humanity and crimes against peace This last category seems to the author to be the most difficult to penalize Crimes

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He concludes with a review of the solutions arrived at by the Nuremberg Tribunal underlining the ideological differences between the members of the tribunal and the essentially political character of the trial He comes to the conclusion that even if a

prof undly cha ged by the wa Ca the Po nt Four programme sol e the problems
unpedi g th industrialization of th underdevel ped count es Hav ng stud ed
f m th ec mu demograph c and soc ological po nts of v ew the c ept of under
des l ped count es thea th or affirms that American a d f ds its necessary c implement
m th ass tance suppl ed by the Un ted Nat ns Whereas the f mer aims p marly
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social err es in the d means of health nd cult re. These problems ha e been sol ed
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up a natu al rerve The a th con l des by indicat g the need f r co-operat on
the p t of th highly-develo ped count es d h ows what could be accomplished
by Europea countries in l ding Germany if they adopted a common pol cy in this
fld

INTER ATL VAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

RUTTERSHAUEN (Dr Heur h) *Internationale Handel und Wirtschaf* Frankfurt on
th Main Fritz Knapp 1953 418 p 8
A ts outstanding ex hang estur ctors th pol cy f th various states as regards
international trade has moved in the directi n of mo effective co-operat on through
th establishm t f international rg nizat ns It is true that every stat at p sent
has th power t tak teps ega di g tariff ns otas a d currency regulat ons that
w uld enabl t ery effect cly to nt ol th directi n and sol m of is external
tr de. Th a th nsus this aspect, o the mporta ce of currency regulat ns
especially th need um of th ce ral banks and n the fix g f exchan e
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h ff rta f er mu o-operat n th t ha e been made within the framework of
the inte nat nal o ganizat ons H a alyses th l of GATT a d the lages of the
trugg f th low g f r d b rriers It must be admitted that the results a e st ll
limited th deas wh ch lay beh d th creati n f ternat onal trade organ sti
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to war must be l ed un q ocaly f u f pea

Hu (W lth) *The law f ternat al p ym nts (Revised our d l A adme d*
d ternational d Le Hy 95) P rns Sey 1952 p 515 711 8
Th leg l basis f the ternat l paym ts syst m has its orig n n the meas es fo
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wer specified f t m t nal t d u o t f the crisis f 1929 These regulat ons
94 The legal d c mpled b l t ral h d th rign both n mun pl and
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f h m lly l u nd b ther f t. Bilateral gre ments n any case appe
as bank d finally as n d munt t body end we d with ts on t ca ury

the loan it grants does not cover the total cost of the operation it helps to raise private capital which is thus invested in regions and sectors where it could not be invested but for the intervention of the Bank. The fact that the Bank is concerned in a particular project therefore provides a kind of guarantee of economic development creating favourable conditions for the investment of capital. In this way the Bank collaborates in technical assistance provided by the United Nations and by certain great powers through procuring the necessary financial resources for setting on foot large scale equipment projects which are the essential preliminary to economic development.

DI SIMONE (Giovanni Maria) *Progetti di cooperazione monetaria e finanziaria internazionale*
Rome Banca 1952 72 p 8vo

International financial bodies whether their purpose is to facilitate exchanges through multilateral payments like the European Payments Union to grant loans like the International Bank or to carry out financial policy like the International Monetary Fund are certainly effective but lack the necessary means to solve certain problems. The expansion of the European Payments Union into an Atlantic Payments Union can help the development of exchanges between highly industrialized countries only. There is in fact need for a body capable of encouraging the growth of trade with underdeveloped countries. The author then examines schemes which have already been put forward several times for establishing an international financial company. This body would be competent to grant medium and long term credits it would call to a large extent upon private enterprise and should possess a Statute and means of action more flexible than those of the International Bank. It would not of course be able to solve all the problems connected with the establishment of programmes of economic development and the total number of its commitments would be limited but it would be the rational complement of the work of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund.

NON SELF GOVERNING TERRITORIES

ALLEGRI (Alberto) *L'amministrazione fiduciaria della Somalia* (un singolare trusteeship)
Venezia Arte grafiche delle Venezie 1951 40 p 8vo

The evolution of the status of Somaliland from the League of Nations Mandate to the Trusteeship Agreement signed under the aegis of the United Nations has been in the direction of a strengthening of the political and administrative controls exercised by the international authority. The work of the Trusteeship Council is particularly effective both as regards the reports submitted to it and the more direct action represented by the inquiries carried out into the methods of the administrators. On the political level it is conceded that trusteeship must lead to independence. In any case the abolition of the Trusteeship Agreement and the recognition of Somaliland as an independent state depend upon the fulfilment of certain conditions: the establishment of a central authority and an independent local administration capable of guaranteeing the preservation of law and order the organization of a judiciary body designed to ensure the defence of human rights. In another field the creation of a Somaliland currency could not solve the economic and financial problems involved in the development of the country's resources and in its balance of payments. Somaliland which is politically free must remain economically dependent on a great power.

UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

SCHUSTER (Hans) *Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit mit unterentwickelten Ländern* Bremen Bremer Ausschuss für Wirtschaftsforschung 1951 125 p 8vo

Point Four is a proof of the United States determination to ensure in the underdeveloped countries regarded as economic vacuums a certain degree of economic development indispensable for the increase of international trade. It also reflects United States concern to maintain a certain political stability in countries often

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pa a ti nal nerve The thor concl des by nd cat ng the need f co-operat on
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by Europea untr es incl ding Germa y if they dopted a c mmo pol cy in this
field.

INTERN TIONAL ECO OMIC CO-OPERATION

RITTERSHAL EN (Dr H unr ch) *I nternationale Handel und Deutsenpolitik* Frankfurt on
th M in Fritz Knapp 1953 448 p 8 o

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HUG (Walth) *Th l w f t nat n l payme ts (Revue d our de l A adms d*
d t ntern tional de La Hay 95) P rs Sey 9 2 p 515 7 1 8

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f h European P ym ts Un n, exam ns g n turn ts f n tions as lean hous
as bank d fun lly as dmi nstru body endowed w th its own t casury

KINDELBERGER (Charles P) *International Economics* Howewood R D Irwin 1953
543 P 8vo bibliography

International economic relations depend to a large extent on the means and methods at the disposal of states for the financial control of exchanges. International economy has been characterized since 1945 by the development of commercial currents regulated by artificial methods of payment founded on the principle of assistance. The dollar deficit and the assistance programmes in the form of gifts or loans of dollars have thus constituted the financial framework of international trade. If the problem of the dollar shortage tends to be easier to solve other problems particularly the problem of raw materials are becoming more acute. The author presents the problem as a whole linking the supply and cost of raw materials with the growth of national income in underdeveloped countries. This economic expansion presupposes an increase in international investments which are very inadequate in their total amount as compared for instance with internal investments in the United States of America. Despite the activities of international organizations favourable conditions for the export of capital by wealthy countries have not arisen and investments abroad are totally inadequate to meet the needs of world economy. The only important movements of capital have come about as a result of official programmes and it seems that only the drawing up of a long term plan enables highly industrialized countries to solve the problem of economic underdevelopment. The need for such a plan is evident a theoretical study of economic relations between states shows that international exchanges cannot progress without a certain measure of the
equipment and unless adequate means of
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III NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

A MEETING OF EXPERTS ON SOCIAL SCIENCE TERMINOLOGY

Paris 5-7 May 1954

The committee of experts convened by Unesco was attended by

Experts: Professor M. Ginsberg (Chairman) Department of the London School of Economics (Belgium) Member of the d'Épargne et d'Épargne Reprise Belgium Secretary of the Flemish Academies H. J. van den Broek (Belgium) Director of the Solvay Institute of the University of Ghent Professor Universiteit Brussel Professor G. Heckscher (Sweden) Stockholm Professor B. Wootton Bedford College, University of Göttingen M. Suffrage University of Strasbourg Paris Professor W. Ogden (United States) Formerly Rector of the University of Bellarmine (Lebanon) Assistant Secretary-General of the Arab League Oxford Dr. Raif Obereg Mrs. S. Forgue United Nations M. A. Eckel Food and Agriculture Organization Mrs. D. Lecote, Organization of Economic Cooperation Mrs. H. Berger-Lieser International Economic Association M. S. Hurst International Political Science Association Professor C. Lévi-Strauss International Committee of Social Science Committee Professor A. Bertrand International Committee of Comparative Law Mr. E. Dimpierre Centre d'Études Sociologiques Mrs. A. Myrdal M. G. de Lacharnie Dr. O. Kleinberg Dr. A. Szerba Lakernik Dr. S. Friedmann Mr. P. Lengyel Department of Social Sciences Mrs. A. Myrdal D. J. H. Imstrom

The discussion was opened by Mrs. A. Myrdal Director of the Social Sciences Department, who explained the usefulness of a glossary of social sciences and the difficulties involved in its compilation.

The proposal of Professor Haesaert, Professor Ginsberg was invited chairman of the committee. Dr. M. J. was appointed rapporteur-général.

The following facts and issues emerged from the three days' discussions:

The principle of the usefulness and urgent need for a dictionary of social sciences was taken for granted from the start and was not challenged.

All speakers agreed with the human emphasis given to the difficulties a case not only in the translation of terms from languages with a rich vocabulary to a language which is particularly difficult.

After exchange of views the committee reported that the proposal of Professor Haesaert and Bertrand, which however urgent the need for a glossary of social sciences terminology in all the so-called well-equipped languages was still too vague for it to be possible to compile a lexicon which it was Professor Bert and van words

could at the present stage be no more than a series of approximations in a sea of obscurity

Priority was accordingly given to the compilation of a social sciences vocabulary in two well equipped languages

- 3 The committee further thought that despite the very real difficulties involved it would be possible to compile for the social sciences a work on much the same lines as those successfully produced for subjects giving rise to similar problems such as

4

a social sciences vocabulary Lalande type a general glossary with translations with translations of the terms committee decided in favour best adapted to the spirit of

Unesco's decisions, the resources of the various national groups concerned with terminology problems the methodological requirements of this type of work

However it recommended that social scientists be asked to examine as soon as possible the translations proposed in Unesco's terminology index cards from the scientific and linguistic standpoints alike

- 5 After thorough discussion the committee decided against Mr Vincent's proposal for a dictionary of social sciences on the same lines as he had proposed for his dictionary of demography i.e. in the form of a statement endeavouring to include all technical words and expressions set out in a logical sequence indexed in accordance with the universal decimal system (a proposal supported by Dr Holmstrom) and serving as a basis for each individual language

ment was so ingenious and valuable as to make it worth while bearing its principles in mind and taking them as a guide so far as possible once the first draft of the social sciences vocabulary had been worked out

- 6 The committee also adopted Professor Ginsberg's proposal that leading experts should first prepare special articles clarifying some of the basic terms used in the social sciences and that these articles should be published as contributions to an open forum in the *International Social Science Bulletin*

On the suggestion of Messrs Ginsberg Janne and Heckscher it was further requested that specialists in the various social and natural sciences should subsequently be convened to international round table discussions or symposia for the purpose of drawing up final definitions of these particularly complex concepts

7

proposed by national working parties on terminology (accompanied by a data

ings confused and imprecise uses of terms etc. to be emphasized by the use of a diacritical mark (e.g. /) (i) related or similar terms synonyms and antonyms

The committee also approved the principle of using quotations (extracts from deceased authors) for the purpose of (a) placing the various meanings in their proper historical and social setting (b) excluding all meanings proposed merely from bias in favour of a particular school of thought or excessive concern for uniformity (c) helping the linguists and translators responsible for the preparation of the multilingual lexicon

representatives of these various working parties would ensure uniformity of working methods exchange of experience a uniform solution for the problems raised

12 As for the method of working Dr Szczerba summed up the various stages as follows (a) preparation by the rapporteur general of the report setting forth the decisions taken by the Committee of Experts on Social Science Terminology at its meeting of 5 6 7 May (b) circulation of the report by the secretariat among national and international scientific associations colleges and academies universities etc. its publication in specialist reviews and its submission to the various national and international social science congresses (c) preparation of precise instructions concerning terminology for submission to the different working parties concerned (d) drawing up of final plans for the guidance of national working parties during the pilot survey (e) definition of the 150-200 words chosen for the pilot survey on the basis of the instructions concerning terminology This work should be completed by the end of 1955 at the latest for both English and French and would then be submitted forthwith to the competent national and international academic and scientific authorities

In the light of the experience thus gained it would then be possible to promote the compilation in accordance with final plans jointly prepared of social science dictionaries in the various well equipped languages and simultaneously of a multilingual lexicon which would be as comprehensive as Unesco's resources and the various national working parties could make it

THE FIRST ITALIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Milan 23 and 24 April 1954

This congress jointly convened by the Organization for European Economic Cooperation and the recently created Italian Association for Political and Social Sciences as its first public manifestation had as its theme the problem of Europe

In his opening remarks the President of the Italian section of OEEC Dr Enrico Falck outlined the objectives of the organization and the methods it was adopting towards the promotion of economic progress stressing particularly the benefits already derived from the OEEC-sponsored European Payments Union and the advantages that would accrue to Italy from an integration of the Western European economy

The contribution made by the comparatively new discipline of politics to the study of European problems was the subject of the introductory paper delivered by Professor F. Vito President of the Italian Association for Political and Social Sciences The emergence and rapid expansion of a scientific theory of the formation of political decisions had not really affected the fundamental and traditional methodology in this field which consisted of a threefold approach based on history juridical and philosophical speculation and empirical observation analogous to that employed in the physical sciences Although in Italy a humanistic bias was still generally preferred in such studies there was as elsewhere an increasing recognition of the enormous role of politics on all other social science disciplines and the necessity for greater interdisciplinary co-ordination

The various plans for European unification—through federalism monetary union customs union and so on—were based on the assumption that once certain underlying obstacles were removed the political and social life of the continent would integrate automatically It was the object of the congress to examine the validity of this assumption

ORGANIZATION REVIEW ANNOUNCEMENT

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I th discuss that f llowed Pr fess l be h pointed o t that th dn
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The idea of national sovereignty in its modern shape a legacy of the French Revolution was the transference of the older attributes of an absolute monarchy to the nation as a whole. Yet in the modern state sovereignty was limited internally by individual rights just as before it was limited by democratic pressure the social contract theory and the concept of natural law.

The definition of sovereignty must be circular it was simply every juridical act performed by a state of its own free will within the bounds of its constitution and it was as such perfectly consistent with an association of democratic states in a free union. Such a union did not like a federal system postulate an internal structure of all member states matching the federal structure nor did it imply a renunciation of national liberties it merely curtailed the power of states to act unilaterally on common problems.

The third part of the congress dealt with the economic aspects of the European problem. The ideal of a united market of 300 million consumers which had often been put forward as a solution for Europe's economic ills through the example of the United States of America was neither easy to achieve nor necessarily the right answer. After 90 years of political unity the economic problem of the depressed South still existed in Italy submitted Professor di Nardi economics and politics did not always go hand in hand.

Before any kind of economic union could be inaugurated several conditions had to be fulfilled. In the first place there must be a single currency or free currency convertibility. This in turn presupposed an equilibrium in the various national balances of payments otherwise the economically weaker states would tend to fall under the domination of the stronger ones. There must also be a uniform fiscal policy an internal monetary policy designed to curb inflationary pressure on prices and public investment directed towards increased productivity. This problem was complicated by the peculiar situation of Great Britain and her membership of the sterling zone. A second condition for economic union was the abolition of all customs barriers which could only be achieved very gradually. Other problems were those of a common policy on employment trade cycles and public finance as well as the free movement of labour and the equalization of social security facilities. A gradual approach which would tackle the most pressing economic problems first was the most hopeful.

Professor Feroldi listed three major prerequisites for European economic unity a supra-national political authority an analogous economic authority that could leave member States only a limited amount of freedom of action in the economic sphere and complete currency convertibility. At present the two most powerful forces working against economic unity were the distortion of national economies through rearmament and the non-complementary nature of national economies. To counteract this it was suggested that the criteria governing the supply of industrial products to non-European countries be reviewed and intra-European exchange be reactivated. When production was reorganized to provide for national specialization while allowing for comparative costs both competition and complementarity must be fostered simultaneously. A customs union was to be regarded as the ultimate goal but convertibility could only accompany not precede such co-ordination.

Finally there was a plea for the necessity of peoples did not really coalesce. At present there was a state but not a nation since its peoples did not really coalesce. At present there was a need for building labourers in France for miners in England but the exclusionist tactics of governments and trade unions made immigration practically impossible. No real European unity could be hoped for until there was a perfectly unhindered flow of people from country to country.

In closing the congress Dr. Falck expressed the hope that further attention would be devoted to the problem of Europe after the stimulating introduction just given and stressed the importance for Italy of the development in particular of economic studies.

parties
tions of development prog.

Research programme The executive committee took note of the completion of the investigation into the political role of women (rapporteur general Professor M Duverger France) and into the problems regarding new states and international organizations (rapporteur general Professor B Akzin Israel). It further considered the investigation into local government in rural communities still proceeding under Professor H Zink. Lastly it drew up a programme for the development of political science subject to adequate funds being secured.

Publications The executive committee was informed of the conditions on which Unesco would undertake publication of the General Report on the Teaching of Political Science throughout the world (1954).

Political Science throughout the world (1954).

graphy (whose first number covers 1954).

The executive committee decided to continue publication of *Science Abstracts in Political Science* in conjunction with the International Committee for Social Science Documentation. It also decided to continue work on a volume presenting a comparative study of the main civil service systems of the world and on a special number of the *International Social Science Bulletin* devoted to a political science subject of general interest.

Expansion of IPSA The executive committee adopted measures to expand the activities and influence of the association in all parts of the world, particularly in the countries of Latin America and Asia. It was decided to undertake a large scale campaign to increase individual and group memberships.

Persons wishing to join the International Political Science Association as individual members should apply to the association's secretariat, 27 rue Saint Guillaume, Paris (VII). The subscription is US \$6 or the equivalent in other currencies (reduced to \$5 or the equivalent for members of any national political science association affiliated to IPSA). Individual members are entitled to the regular supply of the circular letter published quarterly by the association and of one of the two following publications: *International Social Science Bulletin* and *International Political Science Abstracts*.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION'S MEETINGS

Cologne 10-12 June 1954

The Executive Committee and members of the Research Committee of the International Sociological Association met in Cologne from 10-12 June 1954. The meetings were held in the University of Cologne and were attended by Dr N G Davy (University of Paris), Professors M Ginsberg (London School of Economics), L von Wiese (University of Liège), P de Boer (University of Leiden), A N J de Hollander (University of Amsterdam), D V Glass (London School of Economics), R Koenig (University of Cologne), H Schelky (University of Hamburg), T Segerstedt (University of Uppsala), Dr K A Busa (University College of the Gold Coast), Mr Stein Rokkan (University of Oslo) and the Executive Secretary (T B Bottomore, London School of Economics) and the Assistant Secretary (Miss E Adorno).

The executive committee reviewed the activities of the ISA since the Liège congress

ORGANIZATION REVIEWS ANNOUNCEMENTS

published the annual report for the year 1953-54 which will be circulated to members of the association and individual members. The committee also published the annual report in October 1954. The *Transactions* of the executive committee for the annual conference.

The 950th Congress will be held in the 'Two Centuries' and will be organized in sections: an international symposium on the factors in social change, on law and morals, on the social structure particularly industrial organization and property, changes in class structure, changes in the family, changes in education, particularly the conditions of access to education and the role of social mobility, a concluding paper and discussion on the international situation of these different types of change.

It was decided that a session of the congress should be reserved for a discussion of Sociology in 1956, organized in two sections: one concerned with the development of sociological research and the other with the teaching of sociology. On the basis of the experience of the Liege congress the executive committee established a provisional timetable which will leave time available for informal discussion groups. The main papers of the congress will be by invitation and they will be printed and circulated to participants in advance.

The executive committee also discussed plans for the organization of a round table on the middle classes in underdeveloped countries. This will take place in the Middle East in the autumn of 1955 and will be organized by the ISA in collaboration with the U.S.

The executive committee reported on the current activities of the ISA, and particularly the development of *Current Sociology* on the preparations for a symposium on social change in peasant communities and an evaluation of research on conflict and war which is being prepared for the UNESCO Professor Ginsberg's report of the UNESCO meeting of experts on the terminology of the social sciences and of the plans for a dictionary of basic terms.

The executive committee members discussed the research programme of the ISA. They approved the executive committee's affirmed plans for the organization of a Third World Congress on Social Stratification and Social Mobility to be held in Amsterdam from 6-8 December 1954. This conference will assess completed research in the field of social stratification and study means of presenting preliminary cross-national comparisons. The research committee members went to Segersdal Dr Eisenstadt and Mr Fris for a possible submission by Professor Segersdal.

It was decided to invite a number of sociologists to community participation. Plans for cross-national research in the working class situation were discussed. A proposal for an international conference to be held in December 1954. Finally the members discussed proposals for inter-disciplinary research made by the International Social Science Council.

During their stay in Cologne the delegates visited the UNESCO Institute for Social Sciences where they heard the report of the institute's research from the director Dr N. L. Anderson. They also met a number of German sociologists at a special meeting arranged by Professors van Wely and Koenig. At the close of their meeting the delegates attended a reception and dinner given in their honour by the Oberbürgermeister of Cologne Dr Ernst Schwering.

parties relationship between social classes and political affiliations) political implications of development programmes large and small states in the international system

Research programme The executive committee took note of the completion of the investigation into the political role of women (rapporteur general Professor M Duverger France) and into the problems regarding new states and international organizations (rapporteur general Professor B Alzin Israel) It further considered the investigation into local government in rural communities still proceeding under Professor H Zink. Lastly it drew up a programme for the development of political science subject to adequate funds being secured

Publications The executive committee was informed of the conditions on which Unesco would undertake publication of Professor Robson's General Report on the Teaching of Political Science throughout the world and of the International Political Science Bibliography (whose first number covering 1952 is scheduled for publication in 1954) The executive committee decided to continue publication of *International Political Science Abstracts* in conjunction with the International Committee for Social Science Documentation It also decided to continue work on a volume presenting a comparative study of the main civil service systems of the world and on a special number of the *International Social Science Bulletin* devoted to a political science subject of general interest

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ORGANIZATION REVIEW ANNOUNCEMENTS

certain subject re-evaluated the platform and for about an hour developed by
 and theme. The details of the discussion are summarized but the committee
 the main lines of the platform debate
 in the platform

general discussion is
 The conference attracted great interest. They are considered peculiar events in
 this kind of activities.

- Local regional units in various places in the Netherlands. These units consist
 of from fifty to twenty-five members of every different religious and political
 convictions while at the same time an effort is made to achieve as wide social
 representation as possible.

On the other hand the participants come together to discuss a peace and united subject
 Introductory and preliminary speeches are thus avoided.

The history of the round table work is to be found in these units.

Conclusion The value of this round table work is calculable. Part of the results belong
 to groups in which they hold prominent and strategic positions. Without a doubt the
 in the process and meetings many have hampered the
 thus to be a

power in the

The personal contacts thus established may have
 For the time being however, it should not look for spectacular successes. Distrust
 reopens a deep ration cannot be

pea

THE THIRD INTER AMERICAN CONGRESS ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

La Paz 212 August 1934

The Congress Committee of the Third Inter American Congress on Indian Affairs

has been
 decided
 terms
 and of
 treated details of the
 Third Inter American Congress on Indian Affairs began important experiments
 carried out in Bolivia since April 1932—first among which has been the effect of the
 country India population nationalization from the Indian reform units of the
 educational reform.

Several months ago the Ministry of Racial Affairs enlisted the cooperation of more
 than 50 Bolivians specializing in the theoretical and practical aspects of the subjects
 mentioned both in their matters connected with the Bolivian Indians. These
 persons from all parts of the country will attend the Congress as rapporteurs of their
 own works and will be able if opportunity arises to circulate documents they

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES IN THE NETHERLANDS

In the Netherlands where religious differences and differences in attitude toward life run deep the need for contact between the various groups of the population is more keenly felt than elsewhere.

The Dutch people tend to imbue all phenomena of life with a more or less religious or philosophical setting. Consequently corporations with a confessional bias have been called into being in practically every walk of life. This applies not only to political parties but also to social organizations, employers' associations, trade unions, broadcasting corporations, and even sports clubs, many if not most of them being dedicated into Protestant, Roman Catholic, and neutral groups.

The existence of a certain antithesis between the various groups according to the religious or other convictions cannot be denied.

Only in the event of great national disasters, for instance the war of 1940-45 or the flood of 1953, are the differences momentarily forgotten, giving way to a powerful unity.

During the second world war in the united struggle against oppression all internal differences were laid aside and many came to think that unity would henceforth prevail. The post-war situation, however, was a source of bitter disappointment. It soon became evident that the old antitheses were still there. They had only been inactive temporarily.

Yet there were some who during the war had learned something else. They had realized the need for better contact with other people and other groups in order to attain to a fuller knowledge and a more correct evaluation of the convictions of others.

From this need arose the initiative for that select human means of communication, a round table discussion. Its vanguard was the well-known Professor Kohnstamm, who succeeded in bringing together various prominent persons of different convictions. Being a man of universal learning, he immediately placed this work on a scholarly level. Under his leadership an action committee issued a number of reports dealing with toleration and democracy and ultimately instituted the *Nederlands Gesprek Centrum* (Netherlands Round Table Conference). The NGC has this aim: "The promotion of greater understanding of differing attitudes so that points of similarity and difference may be more accurately assessed."

The movement is governed by a curatorium consisting of 60 prominent citizens of the Netherlands of widely varying spiritual and political convictions. No significant segment of the population is excluded. There is an executive board composed of Professor Dr. J. H. Bavinck, chairman, and two presidents, Dr. J. C. H. H. de Vink and Dr. H. B. J. Waslander. On this board the Protestant, Roman Catholic, and humanist convictions are represented.

The movement has three levels of operation:

1. Committees of specialists, each consisting of approximately nine persons of divergent convictions who meet regularly for intensive discussion on a specific subject and later issue a report upon it. Reports have already appeared on work and property, ideals of education, the state and culture, centralization and decentralization, the political party and the parliamentary system, philosophy and faith, birth control. In preparation are about ten other reports on various subjects.

The value of these publications is that points of agreement and points of difference are always made clear. Instead of shadow boxing about purely incidental matters they contain worthwhile exchanges of views on essentials.

2. National conferences. These are held three times a year. Usually about one hundred people of very divergent convictions assemble, all of them enthusiastic supporters of a round table discussion at a high level.

As a rule members of the committees already mentioned, who specialize in a

ORGANIZATION REVIEWS ANNOUNCEMENTS

TRAINING OF TECHNICIANS IN MEXICO

On of th major diffi lues effect g programmes f d to Indians n Mex co has been th l k f adequately tra ned tech cal pers nnel T overc m t the Nat onal n f r Indian Affa s and th Nat nal S hool of Anth opology ha recently b nology degree c urse. " The academ c t d es " f he Co-ord nat g d T rahu

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logical Society took place. The organizing committee's members were E. Mendes de Mesquita (chairman), Roberto Miller and Gabriel Munho da Rocha (co-chairmen), Albano Wuk (secretary general), Irma Raul and Clemente and Olga Mattar (secretaries), Liguaria de Espirito Santo (treasurer) and Carlos Delgado de Carvalho, Donald Person, Roger Basude, Odono Pires Pinto, Basil P. Hermechad, Gerardo Ramos, P. Ferreira and Antonio Milleguero (members).

INTER AMERICAN STATISTIC INSTITUTE

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All responses relating to this specialized field should be addressed to the Secretary of the Inter American Statistical Institute, Pan American Union, Washington, 6 D.C. United States of America.

REEMENT TWO UNIVERSITIES OF VENEZUELA AND WHO IN

Th Ce tr J U ers ty f Venezu l Caracas has entered t 10-yea agreement
with th Uni ers ty f Wis nian U ted States f Amer f t llectual co-opera
t Th agreem nt n des gned t l e n mber f p blem s g from th
exp ns ty d mod ruzat n f th Uni ers ty f Venez l
n n vid n sreed number f p ofessors

The program is being carried out under the supervision of Messrs. Emilio J. Lopez to Juncos, Secretary of the University of Venezuela, Homer J. Herrin, Dean of the University of Wisconsin, and George W. Hill, representative of the Foundation.

have prepared. In any case the Congress is always at liberty to add to the agenda at its first sessions any other topics it may consider.

The proposed agenda is as follows:
 2. demography of the present
 and anthropological features of the

of two questions: (a) universal suffrage for men and women, literate and illiterate; (b) possibility of legislation on an inter-American basis covering Indian affairs.

Indians, general

social, private and

of three questions: (a) possibility of adopting a common phonetic alphabet for all American Indian languages; (b) utilization of Indian folklore for encouraging the arts; (c) experiments in and future outlook for rural education and the education of Indians in general.

NEWS FROM LATIN AMERICA¹

NEW PUBLICATION ON INDIAN STUDIES IN VENEZUELA

The first number has appeared of a new periodical *Boletín Indigenista Venezolano*. The editorial board consists of Brother Cayetano de Carrocería, Eduardo Fleury Cuello and Walter Dupouy, and the publishers are the Commission for Indian Affairs, which is a technical and advisory body of the Ministry of Justice for the study of Indian questions. Address: Apartado 2059, Caracas, Venezuela.

The first number of the bulletin includes several important studies listed in the bibliographical register of *Notas e informaciones de Ciencias Sociales*. All correspondence in connexion with *Boletín Indigenista Venezolano* should be addressed to Edificio Italo, 4.º piso, Padre Herrera y Muro, Caracas, Venezuela.

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES IN PROGRESS

Charles E. Dibble is continuing his work on the direct translation of the Sahagún codices. Harry Tschopp, Jr. and Raúl del Río are collecting material for a study of the social anthropology of the Indians of the upper Amazon. Evon Z. Vogt has spent six months on research in Jalisco, Mexico. Gordon Willey is investigating Maya settlement patterns. David DeHarpo and William Bullard are also working on the Maya. Irene Adams is investigating race and class as social criteria in ethnic communities in the larger West Indian islands and in Trinidad. Duncan Strong has concluded some months' research in the Ica-Nazca area of Southern Peru. Joseph A. Hester is continuing his research on aboriginal agriculture in Yucatan and El Salvador, Honduras.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE BULLETIN

INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS IN VENEZUELA

The Institute of Psychology
at the University
of the Republic
is not a
proper

The Institute of Psychology was founded by Oliver Brachfeld a native of Hungary who graduated at the Sorbonne and was formerly a professor in Spain Brachfeld is a direct follower of Alfred Adler and is the author of various works published in Spanish and English

NEW PUBLICATION IN TRUJILLO PERU

The Archeological Museum of the University of Trujillo
The Archeological Museum
National University of Trujillo
Box 110

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES IN ARGENTINA

Under the auspices of the Catholic Culture Courses a new school of social sciences has been opened in Buenos Aires Argentina The school offers a four year specialist course with classes in sociology psychology history political and economic sciences and theology Dr José Miguens is one of the professors The address of the school is 1227 Rio Bimba Buenos Aires

FOUNDATION FOR SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS IN BAHIA BRAZIL

This important institution has pursued its programme of social research in co-operation with Columbia University
The foundation is studying
their research
history

More recently Professor Harris under the auspices of Columbia University and the National Research Council of the United States are in Brazil preparing a work on anthropological method based on the experience of studying Brazilian communities especially those investigated under the joint State of Bahia Columbia University programme

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE UNITED STATES ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

In December 1953 the United States Anthropological Society held its annual meeting in Tucson Arizona Among the works submitted which are connected with Latin America were: 'The role of social perception in rural urban change in Brazil' (Bernard Segel) 'Culture change in San Miguel Acatan Guatemala 1938-1953' (Morris Segel) 'The ecological outlook in the mestizo culture of Lima Peru' (Ozzie G Simmons) 'On the survival of certain aboriginal American groups Venezuela' (Thomas McConkle) 'Serial problems in the modernization of the Indian' (T. Wallerstein)

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IV OPEN FORUM

PERSONALITY DYNAMICS AND THE TENDENCY TOWARDS STEREOTYPY¹

R. GORDON

It is the object of this paper to report and to discuss an investigation concerning the possible relationship between the structure and dynamics of personality and the tendency to form and hold stereotyped ideas and attitudes. As a working definition I have regarded as stereotyped mental constructs those images, concepts, beliefs and attitudes which are essentially rigid and change resistant and which tend to represent the facts with which they are concerned in an oversimplified form. These stereotyped mental constructs are here distinguished from what has been described as stereotypes and which have hitherto been regarded as consisting of those images, concepts and attitudes possessed and accepted as more or less true by the majority of the members of a social group; an individual can therefore be said to possess them only in so far as he shares in the social myths of his group. In both instances stereotyping refers to such characteristics as persistence, repetition and invariability of mental construct, but in the case of stereotypes it is a question of the spread and distribution of a concept over a multiplicity of human units, while in the case of stereotyped mental constructs the spread and distribution of a concept over a multiplicity of time units is in question.

The genesis of stereotypes in the individual is likely to differ from the genesis of personally stereotyped mental constructs, the former being predominantly a function of the relationship of the individual to his group, while the latter results from the internal relationship of objects and forces inside the individual. It is true that the society offers a variety of constructs and ideologies as in the case in modern society the stereotypes possessed by an individual may in fact reflect his personality and its needs and problems. However even here the contribution of personality factors is likely to be less important than in the case of personally constructed constructs, for the acceptance of a ready-made cognitive pattern involves less self-expression than does the creation of a new one; furthermore the acceptance of a stereotype is likely to satisfy an individual's need for integration into a social unit.

- GIRARD A BOGART L CENTRE CATHOLIQUE DES INTELLECTUELS FRANÇAIS LE
PIEPUR T DE BOUSQUET M H *Français et Immigrants II Nouveaux Documents sur
l'adaptation Algériens Italiens Polonais le service social d'aide aux émigrants* with a
preface by Alfred Sauvy Cahier no 20 de l'Institut National d'Études démogra-
phiques Presses Universitaires de France Paris 1954 293 p
- HANRAHAN G Z *The communist struggle in Malaya* with a preface by V Purcell
International Secretariat Institute of Pacific Relations New York 1954 146 p
- KARVE I *Kinship organization in India* Deccan College Monograph Series Poona
1953 viii + 304 p
- MAJUMAR II B *Problems of public administration in India* Pustak Mahal Chauhatta
Patna 1954 iii + 310 + ix p
- MAULDIN W P AKERS D S *The population of Poland (International Population Statistics
Reports series P 90 no 4)* US Government Printing Office Washington 1954
vi + 198 p
- MURDOCK G P FORD C S HUDSON A E KENNEDY R SIMON
WINTING J W M *Guia para la Clasificación*
prepared by the In-
Section of the Par
- NORBECK E Takas *Community* University of Utah Press Salt
Lake City 1954 23 p
- ORBE A R *Legislación Indigenista del Ecuador* with a preface by Gonzalo Rubio
Orbe Instituto Indigenista Interamericano Mexico DF 1954 115 p
- PALMER G L BRAINERD C P *Labor mobility in six cities a report on the survey of patterns
and facts in labor mobility 1940 1950* with a preface by Paul Webbink Social
Science Research Council New York 1954 xiv + 177 p
- PORTILLA M L *Indices de America Indígena y Boliviana Indigenista* vols I VIII (1941
59) Instituto Indigenista Interamericano Mexico DF 1954 196 p
- Recovery under the Marshall plan 1948 1952* publication issued by the Fed-
for the Marshall Plan Bonn 1952 277 p
- SCIAPY I Lo
Frat Fiesi
- SCHIFFER W *... of mankind* with two prefaces by Max Radin and
Hélène Schiffer Columbia University Press New York 1954 x + 367 p
- SCHRAM S R *Protestantism and politics in France* Impimerie Corbè et Jugan
Alençon 1954 x + 272 p
- SKINNER KLEE J *Legislación Indigenista de Guatemala* Instituto Indigenista
Interamericano Mexico DF 1954 135 p
- SNYDER R C BRUCK H W SAPIN B *Decision making as an approach to the study of
international politics (Foreign Policy Analysis Series no 3)* Organizational Behav-
Section Princeton University 1954 10 p
- Studies in Islamic cultural history* edited by G E von Grunebaum with a preface by
Robert Redfield and Milton Sange the American Anthropological Association
Publishing Company Menasha Wisconsin 1954 x + 60 p
- The social sciences in historical study a report of the*
no 64 Social Science F
- The new book of world affairs*
of World Affairs by
& Sons Ltd London 1954 x + 378 p
- Third report of the German Federal government on the situation of the German economic and*
(USA) 1953 313 1953 prepared and published by the Federal Minister
for the Marshall Plan Calverton Lincope Bonn 1953 90 p

The Murray TAT was interpreted on the third that is the unconscious level according to psychoanalytical concepts in an attempt to uncover the subjects primary reaction patterns. The records were also dealt with on the second level—as defined by Murray—with the object of obtaining information regarding the subjects character traits or as they may be described the secondary and derived reaction patterns. In this second analysis special attention was paid to four traits which appeared to be of particular relevance to stereotypy the tendency to project the tendency to be extrapunitive the degree of aggressivity the degree of a general sense of security or insecurity.

As a check a colleague carried out an independent analysis of the TAT records and results were then compared.

The belief test had been constructed in order to sample the nature of the beliefs adopted by any particular subject concerning a number of different topics. Questions were asked about the race problem, economic crises, women, nations, social classes, etc. In constructing this test a compromise was attempted between the qualifications which such a test should satisfy

a choice of answers to each question. The subject was then asked to select the one that most nearly corresponded to his own views. There was no limit on the number of subjects who could participate in the study. The subjects were given a choice of answers to each question. The subject was then asked to select the one that most nearly corresponded to his own views. There was no limit on the number of subjects who could participate in the study. The subjects were given a choice of answers to each question. The subject was then asked to select the one that most nearly corresponded to his own views. There was no limit on the number of subjects who could participate in the study.

RESULTS

The principal results obtained from this investigation can be summarized as follows:

It was found that the tendency to possess stereotyped mental constructs was frequently accompanied by the continued presence of unsolved Oedipal conflicts—10 out of the 14 subjects with high stereotypy scores

THE PROBLEM AND HYPOTHESES CONCERNING IT

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but be summarized as follows

Primarily cognition serves to

side if cognition is to
 facts events and our human knowledge about them
 are in a continuous flux those conceptualizations which are in their very
 nature rigid and immobile are doomed sooner or later to fall short of the
 function they should above all fulfil In order to explain their presence one
 might suggest that they subserve a purpose other than the adaptation of the
 individual to his environment Since individuals have to find solutions to two
 main conflict situations—the conflicts between their own needs and demands
 as against the exigencies of the external world and the conflicts which are
 played out intrapsychically between their various and often opposing needs
 and emotions—one might assume that the function of stereotyped mental
 constructs is essentially concerned with the working out of the second type of
 conflict

The actual manner in which they serve the individual to assuage the intra-
 psychic conflicts might be conceived as taking on three main forms First
 they may help to preserve a psychological equilibrium in cases where the
 balance of mental forces is so precarious that exposure to the impact of the
 changes and oscillations even of everyday life would endanger the total
 personality structure Secondly any particular stereotyped construct may
 exist as a result of a process of projection designed to protect its owner against
 the awareness of impulses desires and phantasies within him which may be
 regarded by one of his mental institutions such as for example the ego or
 the super ego as repellent and distasteful Finally the stereotyped mental
 content may be felt as in itself pleasureable and enjoyable because it satisfies
 though more or less vicariously some need or needs which have had to remain
 unsatisfied

Thus the tendency to possess stereotyped mental concepts can be regarded
 as symptomatic of neuroticism since it involves a lack of ability to carry out
 the primary function of cognition and since furthermore it involves that
 curtailment of the freedom and flexibility of the ego which Otto Fenichel
 has described as characteristic of a psychopathological condition However
 stereotypy of mental concepts is likely to be only one of several alternative
 methods with which an individual can fight off intrapsychic tension and
 imbalance and hence the absence of stereotypy does not necessarily prove
 the existence of mental health

PROCEDURE AND TESTS USED

In order to throw some light upon these various problems an experiment
 was carried out in which 30 adult education students were given the Murray
 Thematic Apperception Test a specially constructed belief test

The results obtained were then carefully analysed and compared

The Murray TAT was interpreted on the third that is the unconscious level according to psychoanalytical concepts in an attempt to uncover the subjects primary reaction patterns. The records were also dealt with on the second level—as defined by Murray—with the object of obtaining information regarding the subjects character traits or as they may be described the secondary and derived reaction patterns. In this second analysis special attention was paid to four traits which appeared to be of particular relevance to the tendency to be extrapunitive the

records and results were

The belief test had been constructed in order to sample the belief adopted by any particular subject concerning a number of different problems, economic crises, women

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The first was designed to give a picture of the opinion held. In the second it was hoped to learn something about the reasons which had led to the formation of the particular opinion. The third was concerned with the attitude of the opinion. The fourth however was constructed so as to constitute a special method to assess the degree of conviction and emotionalism present as a constituent of any belief. This last section therefore consisted of a provocative answer to the test question to which again a number of reactions were offered to the subject. This section was considered to be of especial importance and the results have indicated that any discrepancy between the scores obtained from the first and the fourth sections is significant.

To deal with the results a scoring key had to be devised. For this purpose four judges were asked to rate each question on a five point scale, a score of one indicating low stereotyping. Three criteria for the existence of stereotyping were given to guide the judges: personification, over-simplification, emotionality.

Thus for each subject a total stereotyping score could be calculated as well as a score for stereotyping shown in response to all the first sections of the 10 questions and a separate stereotyping score for responses to all the fourth sections of the 10 questions.

RESULTS

The principal results obtained from this investigation can be summarized as follows:

It was shown that the tendency to possess stereotyped mental constructs was frequently accompanied by the continued presence of unsolved Oedipus conflicts—10 out of the 14 subjects with high stereotyping scores

- being over concerned with that primary three body relationship the basic problems of low stereotypers on the other hand were usually concerned with the conflict between libidinal and super ego strivings
- 2 A high stereotypy score was found to be most decidedly associated with the presence of marked aggressive tendencies and with the predominance of projection as a principal defence mechanism. The relationship between stereotypy and extra punitiveness and a sense of security or insecurity was not quite so marked.
 - 3 A correlation was found to exist between the general belief pattern of a person and the central theme of his basic conflicts. Thus subjects with unsolved Oedipus conflicts tended to over emphasize differences and conflicts in social life. People who phantasied an identification with the parent of the opposite sex tended to underemphasize differences in social life while Socialists were preoccupied in their phantasy with the problem of property and its acquisition.
 - 4 A small difference was found to exist between high and low stereotypers on the basis of the reasons they cited as responsible for the difference.
 - 5 High and low stereotypers could not be distinguished by the age of their concepts and beliefs although they differed in their ability to provide information about this. High stereotypers seemed to find it much more difficult to determine the approximate date when their beliefs developed.
 - 6 No generalized spread of stereotypy over the whole attitude system of a person could be found in this study.

DISCUSSION AND AN ATTEMPTED EXPLANATION OF THE RESULTS

The interrelationship of basic personality problems and the tendency to develop stereotyped attitudes appears to be the most important result obtained in this investigation. The underlying reason for this association can only be guessed at at this stage.

Thus the Oedipus situation it might be postulated is the earliest social situation being the first three body relationship of which the child is aware henceforward the question which guided his actions and reactions. Will I or won't I be attended to and satisfied? becomes elaborated and complicated into the question. Who shall satisfy whom and at whose expense? Also it is in the Oedipus stage that the child experiences very strong feelings—aggression jealousy envy and hatred as well as love—and he is thus tempted for intellectual as well as emotional reasons to project these affects on to people and events in the world outside him. He will then be led to conceive of life as one great struggle between rivals. A person is likely to continue to view social life under this aggressive and disruptive aspect if he has remained fixated at that particular level. One may expect that the affects are then even more turbulent and violent than is usual in the normal child. For their persistence in an adult betrays that in his case the situation either for external or internal reasons has been particularly intense and unfavourable to any resolution of the conflict.

- being over concerned with that primary three body relationship the basic problems of low stereotypers on the other hand were usually concerned with the conflict between libidinal and super ego strivings
- 2 A high stereotypy score was found to be most decidedly associated with the presence of marked aggressive tendencies and with the predominance of projection as a principal defence mechanism. The relationship between stereotypy and extra punitiveness and a sense of security or insecurity was not quite so marked.
 - 3 A correlation was found to exist between the general belief pattern of a person and the central theme of his basic conflicts. Thus subjects with unsolved Oedipus conflicts tended to overemphasize differences and conflicts in social life, people who phantasied an identification with the parent of the opposite sex tended to underemphasize differences in social life while Socialists were preoccupied in their phantasy with the problem of property and its acquisition.
 - 4 A small difference was found to exist between high and low stereotypers on the basis of the reasons they cited as responsible for their beliefs: high stereotypers tending in general to give a slightly greater number of reasons, low stereotypers very much more frequently than high stereotypers cited personal contact events in their lives and study as responsible for their views.
 - 5 High and low stereotypers could not be distinguished by the age of their concepts and beliefs although they differed in their ability to provide information about this: high stereotypers seemed to find it much more difficult to determine the approximate date when their beliefs developed.
 - 6 No generalized spread of stereotypy over the whole attitude system of a person could be found in this study.

DISCUSSION AND AN ATTEMPTED EXPLANATION OF THE RESULTS

The interrelationship of basic personality problems and the tendency to develop stereotyped attitudes appears to be the most important result obtained in this investigation; the underlying reason for this association can only be guessed at at this stage.

Thus the Oedipus situation it might be postulated is the earliest social situation being the first three body relationship in which the child is aware henceforward the question will be: Will I or won't I be attended to and how complicated into the question: Who shall I be? "What expense?" Also it is in the Oedipus stage that the child experiences very strong feelings—aggression, jealousy, envy and hatred as well as love—and he is thus tempted for intellectual as well as emotional reasons to project these affects on to people and events in the world outside him: he will then be led to conceive of life as one great struggle between rivals. A person is likely to continue to view social life under this aggressive and disruptive aspect if he has remained fixated at that particular level. One may expect that the affects are then even more turbulent and violent than is usual in the normal child; for their persistence in an adult betrays that in his case the situation, either for external or internal reasons, has been particularly intense and unfavourable to any resolution of the conflict.

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